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THE NEGRO WAGE EARNER

THE
NEGRO WAGE EARNER

BY

LORENZO J. GREENE

AND

CARTER G. WOODSON

The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc.
1538 NINTH STREET, N.W.   WASHINGTON, D. C.

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INTRODUCTION

This work is the first actual product of the three-year survey of social and economic conditions of the Negroes of the United States recently made by the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History. The purpose of the study is to show the various occupations in which Negroes have been employed and to determine whether or not they have increased or decreased their numbers in these various lines. Special effort has been made also to point out certain employments in which they were not originally occupied but have gone into during recent years. The study, therefore, might be entitled, the development of the Negro in the occupations.

The number of Negroes employed in various spheres could not be accurately determined before 1890 because not until then were the first occupational statistics in the United States compiled according to race. Prior to that time, could be found sufficient evidence to determine the trends upward or downward, but the data were rather incomplete for a definitive presentation of the status of Negro employees. Treating the situation after 1890, moreover, the authors have not found the task an easy one, for the reason that, although the data with respect to the two races have been compiled separately, there have been so many changes in the instructions to the census enumerators and in the classification of employees that it is difficult to harmonize these for proper comparison from one census to another. Taking all these things into consideration, however, the authors have approached this task in painstaking fashion.

Since the purpose of this study, moreover, is not only to show the trends in these lines but to determine the causes in each case, it has been necessary to examine all sorts of

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sources for facts throwing light on Negro wage earners as they have developed from decade to decade. The aim, therefore, has been to make the book not merely statistical but interpretative of the data herein set forth as the economic history of the Negro in the United States since Emancipation.

By broadening thus the scope of the work as it should be, too, it has been made not solely a study in the economic development of a particular group but rather the history of the Negro wage earner as it had a bearing upon and has been determined by the history of all other employees of various races in this country. Worked out in this fashion, therefore, the book is given to the public as a chapter of the history of the United States as it has been influenced by the effort of the Negro to exist in this country.

Most of the data in this treatise were collected by Mr. Lorenzo J. Greene. These findings were then checked, corrected, and supplemented by the undersigned, who reduced the work to literary form. In the prosecution of this task of collecting the data, cordial coöperation was given by the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor, the American Federation of Labor, and the Bureau of the Census.

CARTER G. WOODSON.

WASHINGTON, D. C.,
October, 1930.

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THE NEGRO WAGE EARNER

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CHAPTER I

OCCUPATIONS PRIOR TO EMANCIPATION

In the study of the occupations of Negroes prior to 1860, we must keep in mind the Negro population. Let us first direct attention to this element in the free States. The free blacks in these States constituted a constantly diminishing ratio of the total inhabitants of that section. In 1790 out of a total population of 1,968,040 in the North only 67,424, or 3.4 per cent, were Negroes. By 1860, this proportion had decreased to 1.7 per cent, the total Negro element being 344,719, as against 19,888,564 whites.[1] Thus it is evident that because of their numerical weakness in the free States, the Negroes as an economic factor in that section were relatively unimportant. This was largely because of the failure of Negro slavery as a profitable business in the free States, which, more than any other consideration, effected its abolition by about 1830.[2]

Prior to the War for Southern Independence the Negroes in the North were restricted chiefly to two occupations, agricultural pursuits and domestic service. Negroes, as slaves, were first employed as agricultural laborers. As early as 1628, they were engaged in cultivating the farms in New Amsterdam by the Dutch,[3] and by 1700 they were similarly employed in all Northern colonies.[4] The numbers engaged were not large, for the farms were generally small, rarely exceeding a few hundred acres. Exceptions obtained in the manors of New York and New Jersey, in the fertile dairy farm regions of the Narragansett Country of Rhode Island, and in the Middle States. The farms in these parts were not small[5] and comparatively large numbers of Negro farm hands were employed.[6] They were frequently idle, however, because of the lack of an all-year-round staple, and were, therefore, often hired out.[7]

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[1] U. S. Department of Commerce Bureau of the Census, *Negro Population in the U. S., 1790-1915*, p. 33. Hereafter cited as *Negro Population in the U. S., 1790-1915.*

[2] *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, Fifth Series, III, p. 402.

[3] Haynes, George Edmund, *The Negro at Work in New York City*, p. 66.

[4] *The Journal of Negro History*, XIII, p. 495; Phillips, Ullrich B., *American Negro Slavery*, p. 98; and Harris, N. Dwight, *Negro Servitude in Illinois*, p. 3.

Farm labor, however, does not seem to have been preferred by the Negroes, and after emancipation many drifted to the seaports and industrial centers. There they invariably met with the keen competition and prejudices of the white workers.[8] The places of those Negroes migrating to the towns, however, were taken in the States near the Mason and Dixon line by newcomers from the South, who either had won their freedom or had escaped from their masters.[9] Many of them were persuaded by white sympathizers to settle in the rural districts and to work at the occupation with which they were best acquainted—farm labor.[10] In addition to serving as laborers on plantations a number of Negroes became small farmers in the North.[11]

On the whole, however, the Negro as an agricultural worker, whether as a laborer or independent farmer in the North, was comparatively insignificant. This result was attributed to the varied opportunities for employment which made the towns unusually attractive to rural Negroes,[12] to the influx of poor, foreign whites as farm laborers, to their prejudice against Negro workers in any capacity,[13] and to the laws of some hostile States which forbade the hiring of Negroes who could not produce certificates of emancipation as evidence of their freedom.[14] The largest number of Negro workers in the free States down to the end of the antebellum era, however, went into domestic service. The men were employed chiefly as barbers, waiters, butlers, coachmen, janitors, porters, and stablemen. The women found employment either as laundresses, maids, cooks, seamstresses, nurse maids, hair-dressers, or day laborers.[15]

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[5] Channing, Edward, "The Narragansett Planters" in *The Johns Hopkins University Studies*, IV, No. 37, p. 10; Heston, Alfred M., *Slavery and Servitude in New Jersey*, p. 6.

[6] Robert Hazard of Narragansett, R. I., had 12 Negro dairy women alone during the colonial period, each one of whom had a Negro girl to help her. Each dairy woman had to make from one to two dozen cakes of cheese daily. —Johnston, *Slavery in Rhode Island*, p. 137. Richard Morris of Shrewsbury, New Jersey, was reported to have had "Sixty or seventy Negro slaves about his mill and plantation" as early as 1680.—Heston, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[7] This, however, must not be considered the chief reason for hiring out slaves. Some masters hired out certain slaves for various reasons, according to their situation.

[8] Clarke, James Freeman, *Condition of the Free Colored People in the United States*, p. 4; New York *Tribune*, January 18, 1855.

[9] Turner, *The Negro in Pennsylvania*, p. 149; Hickok, *The Negro in Ohio*, p. 110.

[10] Wright, Richard R., Jr., *The Negro in Pennsylvania*, p. 100.

[11] There were 146 Negro farmers in Connecticut in 1850. New York had 24—*Compendium of the Census of 1850*, p. 80. Ohio had more than 100 independent Negro farmers in Scioto County alone in 1840 with others scattered about the state.

The fact that a large number of Negroes performed menial service is explained by the strong animus against hiring Negroes in the higher occupations.[16] As a result the Negro males found it exceedingly difficult to secure any sort of employment. In this extremity the Negro washerwoman rose to prominence. She became in many instances the sole breadwinner of the family. She washed and ironed while her all but idle husband brought in and carried the clothes back to the homes.[17] This was especially evident in cities[18] like Cincinnati and Philadelphia. Returns from Cincinnati in 1835 showed an exceptionally large number of Negro washerwomen. There were in one of its wards at that time seven common laborers and porters, one dealer in second-hand clothing, one carpenter, one huckster, six shoe blacks, eleven cooks and waiters, and eighteen washerwomen.[19] A census taken in Philadelphia in 1849 showed that the females outnumbered the males in gainful occupations. The returns gave 3,358 males and 4,249 females. The importance of the Negro washerwoman as a provider is further demonstrated by the fact that out of these 4,249 women so occupied, 1,970, or almost 50 per cent, were engaged in washing and ironing or day work.[19a] Without a doubt many a Negro family in the free States would have been reduced to utter destitution had it not been for the labor of the mother as a washerwoman.

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[12] Olmsted, Frederick Law, *Seaboard Slave States*, p. 85.

[13] Chickering, *A Statistical View of the Population of Massachusetts 1760-1840*, p. 156; New York *Tribune*, Jan. 18, 1855; Turner, *The Negro in Pennsylvania*, pp. 158-159; and Bacon, Benjamin C., *Statistics of the Colored People of Philadelphia in 1850*, p. 15.

[14] Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 227; Hickok, *The Negro in Ohio*, 41; and Dunn, *Indiana*, passim.

[15] *A Statistical Inquiry into the Condition of the Free People of Color in the City and Districts of Philadelphia in 1849*, pp. 17-18; "Report of Rev. R. Spaulding to the Boston Auxiliary of the American Union for the Relief and Improvement of the Colored Race" in the *African Repository*, XIII, p. 90; Chickering, in the *African Repository*, XXI, pp. 301-302; *Independent Chronicle*, November 28, 1776; Moore, George H., *Notes on Negro Slavery in Massachusetts*, p. 208; Cooley, *History of Slavery in New Jersey*, pp. 30-31; *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, IV, 1795, p. 200.

[16] Douglass, Frederick, in *The African Repository*, XXIX, p. 136; Turner, *op. cit.*, pp. 149, 159; and Clarke, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

[17] Foreigners immigrating into this country went freely into all menial work except washing and ironing, in which it seems that they could not compete with Negro women.

Although the Negroes were preëminently domestic servants in the North, a few were identified with the manufacturing and industrial life of that section in 1860.[20] Yet the Negroes in the free States, to a large degree, were excluded from both industry and the trades. This may be ascribed to the greater skill of foreigners in the trades and to the prejudice of the white workmen. The unwillingness of employers to hire Negro mechanics and the keen competition for jobs, in which the white workmen were usually given the preference, also tended to diminish the numbers of Negro industrial workers.[21] It would appear that the Negroes as slaves had better opportunities to work at the trades than as free people of color, since it was to the master's advantage to keep them employed when enslaved. As slaves they were frequently employed as blacksmiths, anchor-makers, machinists, bricklayers, brickmakers, carpenters, distillers, hammermen, refiners, shoemakers, tailors, and tanners.[22] When free this was true to a less extent. The accompanying tables [22a] show the distribution with respect to occupations.

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[18] See city directories of that period.

[19] Williams, *History of the Negro Race in America*, II, 136.

[19a] *Condition of the People of Color of Philadelphia, 1849*, pp. 17-18.

[20] *Compendium of the Census of 1850*, p. 80.

[21] Chickering, *op. cit.*, pp. 301-302; *Statistical Inquiry into the Condition of the Free People of Color of Philadelphia, 1849;* Bacon, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14; *Memorial of the Antislavery Society of Ohio, 1830*, p. 27; Lindsay, "Economic Condition of the Negro in New York Prior to 1860" in the *Journal of Negro History*, VI, pp. 193-194.

TABLE 1.—OCCUPATIONS OF NEGROES IN BOSTON IN 1830

	Number		Number
Mariners	171	Boys learning mechanical trade	1
Laborers	112	Carpenters	1
Barbers (exclusive of apprentices)	32	Whitewashers	1
Keepers of clothing shops, etc.	23	Whitesmiths	1
Waiters or tenders	25	Shoemakers	1
Cartmen	8	Blacking makers	1
Tailors	6	Painters	1
Keepers of boarding-houses	5	Paperhangers	1
Boot polishers	4	Soap boilers	1
Blacksmiths	3	Measurers	1
Ordained preachers	2	Cobblers	1
Stevedores	2	Chimney sweeps	1
Victualers	2	Servants (not at service)	1

TABLE 2.—NEGRO SKILLED WORKERS IN COLUMBUS AND CINCINNATI IN 1838

Occupation	Total Columbus	Total Cincinnati
Stone masons	1	5
Painters	2	2
Shoemakers	5	5
Blacksmiths	3	3
Housejoiners	1	..
Plasterers	..	6
Coopers	..	10
Draymen	..	11
Silversmiths	..	1
Cabinet makers	..	2
Carpenters and joiners	..	9
	12	54

TABLE 3.—NEGRO SKILLED WORKERS IN PHILADELPHIA IN 1849

	Number		Number
Boot and Shoemakers	113	Shoemakers	10
Bakers	7	Tanners	14
Carpenters	33	Bricklayers	5
Cabinet makers	17	Plasterers	10
Blacksmiths and workers in metal	9	Painters and glaziers	10
Tailors	18	Dyers and hatters	7
White washers	10	Engineers	5
Sail makers	10		

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[22] Cooley, *op. cit.*, p. 55; Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 41. For best secondary account for this period see Wesley's *Negro Labor in the United States, 1850-1925*, 1927, Chapters II, III.

[22a] Table 1 is from the *African Repository*, XIII, p. 90; Table 2 is from *Memorial of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society, 1838*, pp. 4, 18; Table 3 is from

Skilled Female Workers

	Number		Number
Tailoresses	19	Mat makers	9
Milliners	19	Dress makers	216
Sewers of carpet rags	33	Seamstresses	231
White washers	60		

Table 4.—Occupations of Negroes in Massachusetts in 1850

	Number		Number
Brickmakers	1	Masons	1
Bricklayers	1	Pavers	1
Bookbinders	2	Riggers	1
Bakers	15	Saddlers	1
Capstone workers	1	Ship carpenters	1
Agatemakers	4	Curriers	1
Daguerreotypers	1	Machinists	1
Jewelers	1		

Table 5.—Trades in Which Negroes Showed Increases in Massachusetts between 1850 and 1860

Occupation	Number	Increase
Blacksmiths	7	1
Carpenters	10	9
Painters	4	3
Shoemakers	7	6
Tailors	13	7
Bookbinders	2	1

Table 6.—Negro Artisans in New York City in 1850

	Number		Number
Apprentices	2	Gunsmiths	1
Bakers	4	Hatters	2
Blacksmiths	1	Painters	4
Butchers	33	Printers	4
Carpenters	12	Shoemakers	23
Cigar makers	8	Tailors	23
Confectioners	2	Jewelers	3
Coopers	7		

In navigation the number employed was more noteworthy than in other industrial pursuits. It was estimated that of the 25,000 native American seamen in 1859 nearly one-half were Negroes.[23] They shipped on whaling, fishing, and merchant vessels. There were 6,000 Negroes in the merchant service, 1,400 in the naval service, 2,900 in the whaling serv-

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The Statistical Inquiry into the Conditions of the People of Color of Philadelphia, pp. 17-18; Tables 4 and 5 are from the *Compendium of the Census of 1850*, and the *Abstract of the Census of Massachusetts* of 1860; Table 6 is from the *Compendium of the Census of 1850*.

[23] Clarke, *Present Condition of the Free People of the United States*, p. 16.

ice, and 5,000 in internal navigation.[24] Some possessed their own vessels as in the case of Paul Cuffe. A Negro company in New Bedford, Massachusetts, in 1837 owned a brig, *The Rising Sun*,[25] manned by employees of their own race, plying between this country and South America. Along the great rivers, such as the Mississippi, Negroes were extensively employed as boatmen and deck hands. A considerable number were also engaged as stevedores and longshoremen, and in the performance of odd jobs here and there. It was said that the Negroes generally preferred river occupations to farming, but in truth they generally went into these occupations more through necessity than by choice. Many of them worked on river boats in the capacity of waiters, barbers, maids and stewards,[26] and saved considerable money.

The South, in contradistinction to the North, was the section where the Negroes developed highest in occupations. This was possible for the reason that in the antebellum South the Negroes, constituting more than one-third of the total population,[27] furnished the chief labor supply of that section.[28] Introduced as slaves in 1620, by 1790 the total Negro element of the South was 689,784, and in 1860, 4,097,111. Ninety-two and two-tenths per cent of the Negro population was in the South in 1860, and of the total inhabitants, white and black, one in every three persons was a Negro.[29]

On the eve of the War for Southern Independence the large majority of the Negroes in the South were engaged in large scale agriculture.[30] The relative numbers of slaves employed in the production of the various staples of the

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[24] *Ibid.*, p. 15. See also Deane, Charles, *Connection of Massachusetts with the Slave Trade and Slavery*, p. 28; Macy, *Nantucket*, p. 138; and *Journal of Negro History*, VIII, pp. 153-229.

[25] *Memorial of the Ohio Antislavery Society*, etc., p. 28.

[26] Quillin, *Color Line in Ohio*, pp. 65-66; Hickok, *Negro in Ohio*, p. 55.

[27] *Negro Population in the U. S., 1790-1915*, p. 55.

[28] DeBow, J. E. B., *Industrial Resources of the South*, II, pp. 313-314; Olmsted, *Seaboard Slave States*, p. 83.

[29] *Negro Population in the U. S., 1915*, p. 33.

[30] DeBow, *Industrial Resources of the South*, II, pp. 313-314; Olmsted, *Seaboard Slave States*, p. 83.

South were first published by the United States Census in 1850. Prior to this time, however, there had been an unusual increase in the number of slaves employed in the production of cotton as a result of the industrial revolution, especially in the manufacture of cloth by machinery. It was estimated in 1850 that of the 3,204,313 slaves in the South 2,500,000, or approximately 78 per cent, were devoted to the raising of certain staples,[31] according to the accompanying table.

TABLE 7.—THE DISTRIBUTION IN LARGE SCALE AGRICULTURE IN 1850

Staple	No. of slaves engaged	Per cent
Hemp	60,000	2.4
Rice	125,000	5.0
Sugar	150,000	6.0
Tobacco	350,000	14.0
Cotton, etc.	1,815,000	72.6

In 1840, when the total slave population stood at 2,487,355, approximately 1,200,000 of them were occupied with cotton culture. Of these the number of able-bodied workers was placed at 800,000.[32] By 1850, the number of Negroes engaged in cotton raising had increased to 1,815,000.[33] This represented an addition of about 600,000 workers during a single decade, or approximately fifty per cent more than in 1840. Since the total slave population of the South in 1850 was 3,204,313, of whom 2,500,000 were directly engaged in large scale agriculture, the 1,815,000 slaves raising cotton represented more than half of the total slave population, and 72.6 per cent of all those engaged in agriculture. Basing his calculations upon the proportion employed as of 1850, Matthew Hammond estimated in 1860 the number of Negroes in cotton production at 2,250,000, an increase of 435,000 during the decade.[34]

The large increase in the number of Negroes in the cotton

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[31] *Compendium of the Census of 1850*, p. 178.

[32] DeBow, *op. cit.*, I, p. 175.

[33] *Compendium of the Census of 1850*, p. 94.

[34] The bumper crop of cotton produced by these slaves in 1860 was not exceeded until 1879. Hammond, *The Cotton Industry*, p. 61. See *Appendix* I for full statistics.

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industry may be ascribed to the general demand for cotton and to the extension of its culture to the Lower South and Southwest. Slaves were sent in droves[35] from the slave-breeding States of Maryland, Virginia and Kentucky.[36] Negro labor was so inextricably bound up with cotton that the value of the slave came to be reckoned in terms of his worth as a cotton hand.[37]

This preponderance, however, does not mean that a large number of Negroes were not otherwise engaged. The second largest number of Negroes in agriculture became producers of tobacco. This work engaged the services of 350,000 slaves on the eve of the Civil War.[38] Of supreme importance during the colonial era when it comprised more than a third of all the exports from the American colonies,[39] tobacco had yielded first place to cotton long before 1860.[40] The third largest number of Negroes in agriculture in the antebellum South appeared in the production of sugar, the number being estimated at 150,000 in 1850.[41] Sugar raising was largely confined to Louisiana, where it was successfully introduced in 1795.[42] Some 125,000 Negroes in the antebellum South were engaged in the cultivation of rice.[43] The smallest number of Negro farm laborers in the important staples served in the cultivation of hemp in Kentucky and Missouri.[44]

A much smaller number labored in the production of breadstuffs such as corn, wheat, barley, and sweet potatoes. Negroes also raised to a smaller degree live stock and indigo. The number could not have been large, however, for of the 3,204,313 Negroes in the South 2,500,000 were engaged in the cultivation of cotton, sugar, rice, tobacco, and hemp in 1850. The remaining 703,313 were engaged in all other pursuits. DeBow estimated in 1850 that 400,000 were urban slaves, leaving 303,313 to all other rural pursuits. Many of these, of course, must be classed as servants, mechanics, superannuates, and children. The number in other agricultural pursuits, therefore, must have been relatively small.[45]

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[35] Featherstonaugh, *Excursion through the Slave States*, p. 152.

[36] Collins, Winfield, *Domestic Slave Trade*, p. 52.

[37] Hammond, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-53.

[38] *Compendium of the Census of 1850*, p. 94.

[39] Hammond, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

[40] For the decline of tobacco see Ballagh, *History of Slavery in Virginia*, p. 105; Collins, *op. cit.*, p. 50, *et seq.* For the rise of cotton see DeBow, *Industrial Resources*, I, p. 175.

[41] *Compendium of the Census of 1850*, p. 94.

[42] See Moody's *Slavery on Louisiana Sugar Plantations* for excellent account of sugar culture there.

[43] *Compendium of 1850*, p. 94. For types of rice plantations see Bassett's "Slavery in South Carolina" in the *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, VIII, p. 85; and Phillips's *Slavery*, pp. 249-255.

[44] The number was 60,000. *Compendium of the Census of 1850*, pp. 94, 178. See also Trexler, *History of Slavery in Missouri*, pp. 13, 16, 23, 25.

A considerable number of free Negroes in the South during these years became small farmers. A few others owned large estates comparable with those of some of the large white planters.[46] They lived in luxury and educated their children in the North or abroad. This was especially true of some free people of color in South Carolina and Louisiana.

The second largest number of Negro workers in the South found employment in domestic and personal service.[47] The number can never be fully ascertained, since no complete records of the slaves in the several occupations have been preserved. The fact that 400,000 slaves were town dwellers in 1850, however, may be accepted as evidence that a large number of them thus served.[48] Not only slaves, but free Negroes were engaged in domestic service in the South.[49] Unlike the Negroes in the North, the Southern Negroes encountered virtually no opposition from the whites, for the latter engaged in hard labor only under

[45] *Compendium of the Census of 1850*, p. 94.

[46] The Ricaud family of Louisiana in 1859 owned more than 4,000 acres of land and 350 slaves, the total value being estimated at $250,000.—Clarke, *Present Condition of the Colored People of the United States*, p. 13. Olmsted during his travels in 1851 found Creoles of color owning plantations for 15 miles along the Cane River in Louisiana. *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States*, p. 633. See also Rosser Howard Taylor's, "The Free Negro in North Carolina" in the *James Sprunt Historical Publications*, XVII, No. I, p. 25.

[47] *Directory of Louisville, Kentucky, 1859*. Most of the free Negro women at work were also domestics. These directories take into consideration the free blacks only. See directories of New Orleans, Charleston, S. C., and Louisville, Ky. for 1859, *passim;* Phillips, *op. cit.*, p. 403.

[48] *Compendium of the Census of 1850*, p. 94.

[49] Directories as mentioned above. For cogent discussion of all phases of free Negro laborers see Wesley, *op. cit.*, Chapter II.

the most urgent circumstances. In some places, however, Negro and white servants worked together.[50]

The hold which the Negro had on domestic service in the antebellum South is of much significance. The owners of slaves could select the most intelligent for service in their homes and get more satisfaction from these than if they had depended upon white hirelings who might not be so obsequious in carrying out the will of their employers. Such Negro servants were trained as barbers, cooks, hairdressers, butlers, coachmen, waiters, stewards and grooms. The women, in the same manner, became maids, cooks, washerwomen, seamstresses, dressmakers, midwives, and parlor maids.[51]

A considerable number of Negroes, too, were employed in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits,[52] especially in railroad building just before the Civil War.[53] Compared with the farm laborers, however, the number appeared very small. This was because the South, despite its abundance of cheap labor, raw materials and water power, ranked exceedingly low in industries in 1860.[54] This resulted from the hold which cotton culture had upon that section, the promoters of which subordinated every other consideration to its dominance. Nevertheless, before 1860, a movement was inaugurated to employ slave labor in building up manufactories in the South in order to free that section from its industrial dependence upon the North.[55]

In local manufacturing the Negro had been engaged on a small scale since colonial times. The large plantations were all but self-sufficient. The very shoes and other articles of clothing worn by the slaves were manufactured in part by themselves.[56] The women spun, wove and sewed; the men made shoes.[57] Yet, finery had to be imported.

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[50] This was especially true of poor whites who owned few slaves, and still more so in the case of Negro owners. Three thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven Negroes owned slaves in 1830.

[51] Vacancies in these positions were supplied by apprentices.

[52] *Hunt's Merchant Magazine*, XXXIX, p. 755. Buckingham, *Travels*, I, pp. 43-44. Mitchell, Broadus, *Rise of the Cotton Mills in the South*, pp. 210-211.

[53] Cotterill, *op. cit.*, p. 436.

[54] The non-slaveholding States in 1850 had 93,185 manufactories with a total capital of $431,290,531 invested, employing 577,434 hands with an annual wage of $195,872,665. Their annual product was valued at $845,430,325. The South, on the other hand, possessed only 28,040 manufactories, with $95,918,842 capital invested, and employed 142,045 hands with annual wages of $33,863,712. Its annual product was valued at $167,906,035.—DeBow, *Industrial Resources*, II, p. 339.

[55] DeBow, II, p. 313; Pinchbeck, *Negro Va. Artisan and Tradesman*, p. 11.

This system of domestic manufacture kept the South virtually dependent upon the North, and in the efforts for Southern industrial emancipation prior to 1860, the Negroes were generally employed. By 1860 there were 290,359 spindles in the South,[58] as compared with 5,250,000 in the North.[59] Negroes were extensively employed in many of them. In the large mills of South Carolina, Buckingham found Negroes and free laborers as operators. Their work yielded a good profit. The product was exported to the North, and some of it was woven into coarse fabric for Negro wearing apparel.[60] Negroes to the number of 100 were employed in a coarse cotton mill in Alabama. All were slaves; three-quarters of them women. The mill had 25,000 spindles and 50 looms.[61] Similar mills were located in Georgia, North Carolina, Mississippi and Florida. In the Saluda factory near Columbia, South Carolina, all the operators were Negroes. The superintendent was a New Englander who had assumed charge with misgivings as to the efficiency of Negro labor. He was soon convinced, however, that slave labor was cheaper for cotton manufacture than free white labor of which there was not everywhere an abundance.[62] This mill was capitalized at $100,000 and operated 5,000 spindles and 120 looms. Its force consisted of 128 workers, of whom 30 were children.[63]

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[56] Pinchbeck, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

[58] Several persons and agencies were trying to demonstrate that free labor could be used for manufacturing in the South. The South was all but convinced that slave labor could be thus used profitably. The Civil War came before a satisfactory demonstration of either experiment could be made in the agricultural section; and it might have been fortunate that the test was not made.

[59] Coman, *Industrial History*, p. 241.

[60] Buckingham, *Slave States*, I, pp. 43-44.

[61] *Hunt's Merchant Magazine*, XXXIX, p. 755.

[62] Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

[63] *Ibid.*, pp. 210-211. See also Kohn, *Cotton Mills of South Carolina*, p. 16.

In addition to employment in the cotton mills Negroes were also worked in other manufactories. Slaves were used in the bagging factories of Kentucky[64] and in the tobacco factories of Richmond, Petersburg, and St. Louis. Thousands of Negroes were satisfactorily employed in the iron furnaces of Tennessee and Missouri[65] while others labored in charcoal plants.[66]

Negroes, too, were employed in the iron, salt and lead mines in Missouri.[67] In the coal mines of Virginia they were hired out by their masters for from $150 to $200 a year. Although they worked side by side with white miners no intimate intercourse was allowed. The coal mined was shipped to all the large towns along the Atlantic seaboard as far as Boston.[68]

During the antebellum period the South competed with the North for the trade of the West. Hence, there ensued an era of rapid railroad building during the 30's and 40's. Negroes were generally employed in railroad construction in the South during this period.[69] Most of the South Carolina railroads were built in part by slave labor. The Columbia line was built in this manner, and also a portion of the Branchville Road. Most of the work on the Charleston and Savannah Railroad was performed by slaves; and on the Wilmington and Manchester line the slaves of one planter worked out $30,000 of the railroad stock.[70] Railroad companies found it preferable to buy gangs of Negroes for their construction work rather than to hire them from the planters.[71]

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[64] Olmsted, *Journey Through Texas*, p. 19.

[65] This was true also of other slave states in which such industries developed. The South depended upon Negro labor in its iron and coal mines.

[66] Olmsted, *Seaboard Slave States*, p. 89.

[67] Trexler, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

[68] Olmsted, *Seaboard Slave States*, pp. 47-49.

[69] Cotterill, *op. cit.*, p. 436.

[70] Van Deusen, *Economic Basis of Disunion in South Carolina*, pp. 258-259.

[71] "The South Carolina Railroad, the lines of which extended from Charleston to Augusta, Camden and Columbia, purchased Negroes periodically between 1845 and 1864, at prices ranging from $400 to $500." For a thorough discussion of such use of slaves see R. S. Cotterill, *op. cit.*, p. 456. In this dissertation the rôle of the antebellum Negro labor appears decidedly important.

The prominence of the Negro in skilled lines was very evident in the cities of the South. An incomplete list of occupations of the free Negroes of Charleston, New Orleans and Louisville for 1859 shows that they were connected with a wide variety of enterprises. Especially was this true in the trades as shown by accompanying tables.[72]

TABLE 8.—OCCUPATION OF NEGRO MALES IN CONNECTICUT IN 1850

Occupations	Total	Occupations	Total
Apprentices	1	Gardeners	5
Architects	..	Gunsmiths	2
Bakers	..	Hatters	..
Barbers	39	Hostlers	10
Barkeepers	1	Hunters	..
Basket makers	10	Ink makers	..
Blacksmiths	12	Jewelers	..
Boarding housekeepers	5	Laborers	1,108
Boatmen	5	Mariners	316
Bookbinders	..	Market men	..
Brickmakers	1	Masons	1
Brokers	..	Mechanics (generally)	4
Butchers	..	Merchants	2
Cabinet makers	..	Ministers	12
Capitalists	..	Musicians	5
Carriage makers	2	Music teachers	..
Car men	13	Painters	2
Carpenters	4	Peddlers	1
Cigar makers	..	Pilots	..
Clerks	4	Planters	..
Clothiers	1	Powder makers	2
Collectors	..	Printers	1
Colliers	5	Sailmakers	1
Coachmen	16	Servants	108
Confectioners	..	Sextons	1
Cooks	34	Ship carpenters	1
Coopers	2	Shoemakers	41
Daguerreotypists	1	Stevedores	..
Doctors	..	Stewards	4
Druggists	..	Students	1
Dyers	3	Tailors	9
Other occupations	30	Tanners	1
Engineers	..	Teachers	..
Farmers	146	Upholsterers	..

NEGRO SKILLED WORKERS IN SAVANNAH, GEORGIA

Occupations	Free Blacks	Slaves	Total	Whites
Mechanics	34	73	107	380
Butchers	2	5	7	24
Barbers	5	1	6	6
Engineers and pilots	2	4	6	53

Despite its efficiency, however, Negro skilled labor was objectionable to some Southerners who believed that the industrial pursuits should be reserved for whites. Others like Governor Hammond of South Carolina held that the "increasing Negro population must find outlet in the cotton and woolen factories . . . in iron furnaces . . . in our workshops . . . and in the manufacture of such articles as are now made exclusively in the Northern States." [73]

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[72] Directories, *ut supra;* and Bancroft's *Census of Savannah, 1848,* pp. 12-13.

It was inevitable also that the large place which the Negroes occupied in the skilled trades would bring them into competition with the whites and cause antagonism. In the rural districts the earnings of the white mechanics were so paltry that, according to Olmsted in 1851, they "closed their shops and hired themselves out to the farmers during harvest time at a dollar a day." [74] In cities like Charleston, Savannah, and New Orleans, the Negroes entered into direct competition with the whites. Most of these were free blacks,[75] although many were the hired out slaves of the planters or of white mechanics.[76] In some towns the Negroes virtually excluded the whites from the trades. Thus, in Richmond a white citizen writing in *The Whig*, of December 11, 1845, said, "Those whose hearts are now sickened when they look into the carpenters' shops, the blacksmiths' shops and the shops of all the different trades and see them crowded with negro apprentices and negro workers are ready to quit in disgust." [77] This competition forced thousands of young whites to migrate to the West.

This dissatisfaction and the migration resulting from the hiring out of slave mechanics deserve further comment. While this practice netted the owner a profitable return, and made the slave all but free in name, it worked a special hardship upon white mechanics by "degrading them with such competition" and by throwing them out of employment. The chief objections of the white artisans to Negro mechanics were, first, that the free Negro sold his labor more cheaply, and second, that the owner of the slave usually underbid the whites on contract work. Some slave artisans, however, brought their masters considerable income and made money for themselves.[78] In order to prevent the slave and free black competition in the trades, petitions were sent to several of the State legislatures, praying that slaves be not apprenticed to any trade or art. As early as 1831 such a petition was sent to the Virginia legislature by the citizens of Culpeper. Its avowed intent was to increase the number of white mechanics.[79] Georgia mechanics protested that the practice of the trades by the slaves made the blacks restless and unhappy, and the State responded in 1845 by passing an act to prohibit all Negro mechanics, slave or free, from making contracts under penalty of $200.[80] In other Southern States, such as Mississippi, Maryland, and North Carolina, similar protests were introduced in an effort to curb the activities of black artisans. In some States the effort was made to render it unlawful for any slave to be taught or practice a trade.[81] The free Negro was similarly restricted.

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[73] Hammond, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

[74] Olmsted, *Seaboard Slave States*, p. 82.

[75] Directories *ut supra;* Bancroft, *Census of Savannah*, 1848, pp. 12-13; *Acts of the State of Georgia*, 1845, p. 49.

[76] Russell, John, *The Free Negro in Virginia*, p. 129; and Nordhof, Charles, *America for the Free Working-Man*, p. 56.

[77] Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

Several acts, as in Virginia, forbade Negro artisans to leave the county in which they resided even to search for employment.[82] Ostensibly to aid the white mechanic in securing work, moreover, a Negro, when freed had to leave the State.[83] After the Denmark Vesey Insurrection of 1822, greater restrictions were brought to bear upon the Negro mechanics. After that year each free Negro mechanic of Charleston, who was occupied within the patrol limits of the city, was assessed $10.[84]

Regardless of the restrictions upon the Negro mechanics in the South they virtually commanded the field in which they were engaged. This strong hold was not due in any large measure to the efficiency of the Negro artisans. Perhaps the most appropriate commentary to this effect was voiced by Thomas Marshall in a speech in the Virginia General Assembly, January 20, 1832. Although he did not consider the Negro craftsmen highly skilled, in his opinion "they sufficed to deprive the white mechanics of their chief encouragement to perfect themselves in their trades, and generally have the effect of expelling them from one neighborhood to another until they finally expatriate themselves."[85]

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[78] For further information see Wright's *Free Negro in Maryland*, p. 155 and Russell's *Free Negro in Virginia*, p. 150.

[79] *Journal of the House of Delegates of Virginia*, 1831-1832, p. 84.

[80] *Acts of the State of Georgia*, 1845, p. 9.

[81] *The Negro Artisan*, p. 15.

[82] *Laws of Virginia*, 1831, p. 107.

[83] *Ibid.*, p. 107.

[84] Channing, Edward, *History of the United States*, V, pp. 136-137.

In addition to being engaged in the mechanical arts, a considerable number of slaves and free Negroes in the South were employed in maritime pursuits. Many of them were engaged in fishing and oystering, which they preferred to land labor.[86] They also served as cooks and waiters on the ships and also as navigators. It is estimated that 5,000 Negroes were engaged in internal navigation, chiefly upon the large rivers.[87] Along the Mississippi they were engaged in various occupations, ranging from that of loading or unloading boats to that of serving as members of the crew. A traveler descending the Mississippi in 1858 remarked that, "the crew and stokers on the boats were all slaves."[88] The Negroes were also employed as stewards, firemen, porters, cabinmen, waiters, and in other menial employments.

Negroes, moreover, were not secure even in these lower pursuits. On one occasion the whites refused to allow the Negroes to handle freight.[89] Several Negroes who were owners of vessels engaged in coastwise trade[90] did not have such troubles since they could manage their own affairs.

Not only were the Negroes engaged in agriculture, mechanical trades and maritime pursuits, but a few conducted business enterprises. They were, however, relatively insignificant. Such businesses were chiefly grocery stores, hairdressing parlors, boarding and lodging houses, barber shops, confectioneries, and cigar stores. Other Negroes were fruit dealers, vegetable dealers, fishmongers, restaurateurs, and hucksters.[91] The small number of Negroes in business was due to the repressive legislation in some States which served to reduce the number of Negro enterprises to a minimum. Especially was this true in Virginia where the license of a free Negro might be revoked at pleasure.[92] A few Negroes, however, were also employed as clerks and salesmen,[93] while others were cotton brokers.[94]

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[85] Brown, W. H., *Education and Economic Development of the Negro in Virginia*, p. 109.

[86] Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

[87] Clarke, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

[88] Trexler, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

[89] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

[90] Delany, *Condition of the Colored People of the United States.*

[91] Directories, *ut supra; Compendium of the Census of 1850*, p. 80.

[92] Russell, *Free Negro in Virginia*, p. 149. The license of Jacob Sampson of Gooch County, Virginia, was revoked without charge in 1844 despite the entreaties of white sympathizers. The Legislature refused to reissue the permit.

[93] The Clerk of the Court of Appeals and Register in Equity of Charleston, South Carolina, in 1859 was Thomas Gantt, a free Negro. Directory of Charleston, South Carolina, *ut supra.*

[94] There were 9 Negro cotton brokers in New Orleans in 1850, one of whom was reputed to have been the largest in the city.—*Compendium of the Census of 1850*, p. 80.

CHAPTER II

LABOR IN TRANSITION

The span of time between emancipation and the recovery of the South during the nineties was essentially an interval of upheaval and adaptation to changed circumstances for the Negro laborer. The first five years from 1860 to 1865 witnessed an economic and social revolution from which the Negro emerged as a "free" man. From 1865 to 1880, however, he was largely engaged in finding his place in the American economic system under this changed status. Since that time he has had more opportunity to show how he will function in the economic life of the South and that of the nation. While this question has not thereby been fully answered, what the Negro as a laborer did during these years will throw much light on the present situation.

At the beginning of the Civil War which destroyed the old relationships between master and slave, the Negroes were chiefly engaged in large scale agriculture;[1] and notwithstanding factors which made necessary the induction of Negroes into occupations entirely new to them the largest number of this element, during the Civil War and its aftermath, found employment in agriculture.[2] As slaves, they constituted the main force for food production for the Confederate armies, since nearly all the able-bodied whites served in the ranks.[3] Besides the important staples, tobacco, cotton, rice, and sugar, they produced often without the supervision of white overseers[4] such foodstuffs as corn, pumpkins, peanuts, oats, peas, sorghum, sweet potatoes, and other vegetables,[5] which were vital to the Confederate cause.

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[1] With the exception of a few opportunities for service as mechanics and menials they had little chance to learn to do anything else.

[2] Fugitives were, therefore, put to work on farms when they came within the Union lines.

[3] Near the end of the Civil War Negroes had to serve in almost all capacities.

Not all the slaves, however, remained on the plantations, for as the Union armies invaded Southern territory, thousands of Negroes flocked to the Union camps.[6] Some had been deserted by their masters who fled before the approaching Federals,[7] while other thousands of both sexes and all ages and in all stages of destitution, decrepitude, and disease crowded into the Northern lines.[8] Hence a serious problem as to their disposition arose to plague the Union generals. Some declared them contraband and put them to work, others welcomed them into their midst and pronounced them free, while still others, like General Grant in 1862, required all masters in camp to take their slaves with them.[9] Later, however, he was glad to use them in the building of fortifications and finally as soldiers.

In response to the order of the War Department the Negroes early showed their capacity to work for wages, for the United States Government soon decreed that these destitute Negroes be put to work either to gather abandoned crops of cotton and sugar or be hired out to planters for wages.[10] Others cultivated corn, tobacco, and vegetables.[11] It was a new day for the Negroes who had never had the experience of free labor, and most of them entered upon the work with enthusiasm.[12]

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[4] *Recollection of Alexander Stephens*, p. 69.

[5] Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, p. 209; Pendleton, William C., *History of Tazewell County and Southwest Virginia*, p. 611.

[6] Eaton, Grant, *Lincoln and the Freedmen*, pp. 2-3.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

[9] The idea of emancipation had not developed.

[10] The success of this experiment tended to convince the public that the Negroes were prepared for citizenship.

[11] *Report of the Board of Managers of the Indiana Freedmen's Act Commission*, September 8, 1864, p. 28.

[12] "In the Sea Islands the Negroes were set to work harvesting, ginning, baling, and loading the cotton aboard government vessels. They received 25 cents a day."—Pierce, "The Freedmen at Port Royal" in *The Atlantic Monthly*, XII, p. 308. In Louisiana Negroes cultivated sugar cane and were paid $10 a month.—Ficklen, *Reconstruction in Louisiana* in *The Johns Hop-*

In addition to service as agricultural laborers some Negroes both as slaves and freedmen naturally found employment as servants. Many Negroes, moreover, were either carried away by their masters or they followed them to war to perform such menial tasks as fell to the lot of the soldiers or other services required by the aristocracy.[13] A much larger number of Negroes, too, performed very vital services for both armies as builders of fortifications, mechanics, and miners. The numbers engaged were far in advance of the antebellum period because as builders of breastworks and fortifications the Negroes were early impressed by the Confederates. On account of the ravages of the invading and retreating forces, some Negroes were used by both armies in the building and repairing of railroads to facilitate the movement of troops and supplies.[14] Several hundred Negroes were also employed in the building of the transcontinental Union Pacific Railway.

The slaves also played a vital part in the war industries of the South. Because of its industrial backwardness and the Union blockade which effectively closed its ports, the Confederacy had to create its own manufactories for producing munitions of war, ships, clothing, and other necessities. No longer able to secure these supplies from the North, upon which it had long been dependent, and unable to import them from Europe, the South was reduced to the extremity of becoming sufficient unto itself.[15] In the iron foundries, machine shops, munition plants, and textile es-

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kins University Studies, XXVIII, No. 1, p. 19. See also Fleming, *op. cit.*, p. 422; Eaton, *op. cit.*, pp. 2, 3, 4, and 5; and Woodson, *A Century of Negro Migration*, p. 110.

[13] "The third Alabama Regiment, 1,000 strong, had several hundred Negro servants. Two years later there were none. Some had been sent home because of death or capture. Others were sold and 'eaten up' by the youngsters who now perform their own work."—Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, p. 207.

Many southern soldiers refused to act as cooks, waiters, musicians, etc. and Negroes were widely used in such capacities in the Southern armies. Many became servants to Northern officers, but this practice was subsequently disallowed by many commanders.—*Ibid.*, p. 206.

[14] The Confederates outstripped the Unionists in thus using the Negroes.

[15] House Executive Documents, 38th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. III, pp. 17-19.

tablishments, additional thousands of Negroes recruited from the plantations were employed.[16] Since the production of salt, coal, iron and niter were equally as essential, numbers of Negroes were employed in their production.[17]

Negroes also rendered important service as mechanics. The significant fact, however, is that these Negro artisans worked for wages, many of them for the first time. In this capacity a limited number of the most efficient were used as carpenters, engineers, and blacksmiths by the Union armies [18] and were found satisfactory.[19] In the Confederacy, both in the army and in the industries, the Negroes virtually "superseded the whites in such trades as spinners, weavers, dyers, cutters, carpenters, brick masons, painters, tinners, shoemakers, harness makers, barrel makers, wheelwrights, blacksmiths, machinists, engineers, millers, seine and sail makers, and ship carpenters." It has been said also that nearly all the skilled laborers were Negroes, "whose industrial capacity was even greater during the war than in time of peace." [20] Incidentally these employments served the Negroes as valuable industrial training schools, which would have stood them in good stead after the Civil War, had not these industries been largely destroyed by the outcome of the struggle.

In contrast to the importance of the Negro laborers in the South and their taking up all sorts of occupations due to the upheaval of the war, no improvement took place in the economic status of the Northern Negroes during this period. Because some Northern soldiers were under twenty-one years of age, the majority of whom had occupied no place in industry, and because also the large foreign immigration had brought in competition, the Negroes found themselves virtually restricted to menial employment as before the war,[21] and in some places they were even displaced in domestic and personal service.[22]

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[16] Fleming, Walter, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, p. 153; Thompson, Mildred, *Reconstruction in Georgia*, pp. 18-19.

[17] Fleming, *op. cit.*, pp. 152-153, 158-162.

[18] *Official Records of the Rebellion*, Series I, Part I, XXIV, p. 502.

[19] Mechanics were allowed $8.00 a month. Pierce, Edward L., "Freedmen of Port Royal," *loc. cit.*, p. 309; *Official Records of the Rebellion*, Series I, XIV, p. 377.

[20] There were actual schools organized for the Negro fugitives and refugees in the Union camps.

Negroes were also being displaced as stevedores and longshoremen because of the violent racial antipathy which was manifested by the Irish against the Negro workmen along the docks in such Northern cities as Cleveland, Detroit, Boston, New York, Brooklyn, Albany, and Chicago.[23] In the Border States the influx of foreigners and the developing labor unions tended to eliminate them from such employments as brickmakers and to deprive them of what little hold they had upon the skilled trades.[24] The foreign workers were more efficient than the Negroes.

At the close of the Civil War the South presented a picture of desolation and ruin. Property, private and public, had been wantonly destroyed. Fields had been left to grow up in weeds. Fortunes had been swept away. In the midst of these scenes of ruin and confusion the South was confronted with the downfall of its economic system, for the Civil War had wiped out its ownership in about $2,000,000,000 worth of slave property, the greater part of the accumulated wealth of the South.[25]

To add to the dismay of the Southern whites the notion became widespread that the Negro, as a freedman, would not work.[26] Indeed, to the casual observer these forebodings were strengthened by the actions of the freedmen themselves, for no sooner was the war terminated than thousands of Negroes forsook the rural districts and flocked to the towns. Others lounged about in idleness, reveling in their new found freedom. To many, emancipation meant abstention from toil, but after a few months of aimless wanderings and idleness, the majority of them, having thus convinced themselves that their freedom was a reality, settled down to work.[27] Most of them returned to agricultural employments as laborers under their former masters.[28] Many of them worked, however, as wage earners under a contract system receiving from $5 to $15 a month and rations.[29] On the other hand, an increasing number of Negroes became farmers.

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[21] Fite, E. D., *Social and Economic Conditions in the North During the Civil War*, p. 189.

[22] Trexler, *Negro Slavery in Missouri*, p. 19.

[23] Fite, *op cit.*, p. 189.

[24] Brackett, Jeffrey R., *Notes on the Progress of the Colored People of Maryland after the War in the Johns Hopkins University Studies*, VIII, p. 377.

[25] To avoid such a loss Lincoln had long advocated compensated and gradual emancipation by peaceful means, but the interests would not have it so.

[26] Taylor, *The Negro in South Carolina during the Reconstruction*, pp. 35-69; and *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Virginia*, 105-120.

The larger number, however, became tenants who rented land on the share system. In this arrangement the proprietor usually supplied teams, farm implements, rations, cabin and fuel for the tenants and in return received either one-half or three-quarters of the crop. If the Negro furnished the teams and implements, the owner received one-fourth or one-third of the crop.[30] The main objection to the share system from the point of view of the interest of the planter was that it usually meant a depreciation of his property in decaying fences, loss of animals, and the necessity for special help to do the work which should ordinarily be performed by his tenant. On the other hand, the unlettered tenant was likely to consume more than the amount of supplies allowed him, or to be cheated by the bookkeeper, and at the end of the year often found himself heavily involved in debt to his landlord. Unable to leave the plantation until such sums were repaid, the tenant frequently became hopelessly obligated until reduced to the status of a serf, bound to the soil of his landlord.[31]

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[27] *The Journal of Negro History*, X, 275-308 and XI, 347-378.

[28] In a sense they returned to a state of serfdom, for they had to accept whatever terms were offered them inasmuch as most of them could not employ themselves.

[29] Wages ranged from $5 to $15 a month with rations in the eastern Seaboard States in 1865. The relative scarcity of labor in the Southwest necessitated a higher scale, and Negro farm hands received $20 a month in Arkansas.—*Senate Executive Documents*, No. 27, 39th Congress, 1st Session, p. 28.

The Freedmen's Bureau reported in 1870 that wages on Southern farms ranged from $15 to $20-25 a month for able-bodied males and from $10 to $14 or to $18 a month for Negro women. In addition an acre of ground was provided upon which the laborer might plant vegetables for his own use.—*U. S. Bureau of Freedmen*, 1865-1870, pp. 4, 11, 16.

Rations usually consisted of two and one-half pounds of salt pork and a peck of meal a week.—*Ibid.* Compare Nordhoff, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

[30] The variation was due to what the tenant possessed. If the landlord furnished everything, the tenant could not require a large share. See also Various Studies of Reconstruction in the States.

Some of these tenant farmers, however, held their lands through the payment of a fixed cash yearly rental.[32] This was the most desirable arrangement, for here the tenant farmer was virtually as independent as the owner. Such a desire was manifested immediately following the War by the more energetic of the freedmen. It was reported as early as 1865 by the Freedmen's Bureau that the Negroes preferred to rent land rather than work on shares.[33] In this case the Negroes furnished their own mules, implements, seed and rations. Rental for land was cheap. One could lease all the land desired for from $3.00 to $10.00 an acre.[34] The Negro cash renter was a sort of intermediary step between the farm laborer and the independent farmer. Farm ownership was the goal for which the more progressive laborers and tenants alike strove.[35]

One of the worst impediments to the rise of the tenant farmer into the independent planter class was the crop lien system. This arose as a necessary evil due to the penury of both the planter and the former slave. Ordinarily, it would commend itself as providing an easy means for a penniless but thrifty laborer to become an independent farm owner. But the very system itself was vicious. Merchants advanced money to the impecunious farmer, enabling him to buy provisions, implements, seeds and other necessities until his crop was harvested. The merchant then took a lien or mortgage upon the unplanted crop and dictated what crop should be grown, how much, and how it should be tended.[36] Since cotton was usually the most marketable crop the lien system as much as any other agency helped to foist the single crop farming upon the South after the war, for the merchant who was usually a cotton buyer insisted upon evaluating the loan in terms of this staple.

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[31] Somers, *The Southern States since the War*, pp. 60-61.

[32] Alvord, *Letters from the South*, Jan. 18, 1870, p. 19; Nordhoff, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

[33] *U. S. Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands*, 1865-1870, p. 10.

[34] Land rented for from $6 to $10 an acre in Arkansas in 1875.—*Ibid.*, p. 38.

[35] Alvord, *op. cit.*, *American Missionary*, 1865, p. 248.

[36] *Report of the Department of Agriculture of South Carolina*, 1882, pp. 250-251.

Of still greater moment, moreover, was the fact that unscrupulous money lenders kept most Negro tenants in debt. At times these loan sharks realized over 100 per cent profit on their transactions.[37] Not only the Negro tenant farmers suffered, but the whites as well. Said one writer in commenting upon the evils of the crop lien system, "The merchants have made peons of them (the planters) and their former slaves as well." [38] Commented another, "The effect of this crop lien system on the freedmen depends on their character and surrounding circumstances. A thrifty Negro in the hands of well disposed landlords and honest merchants early became an independent landowner. A shiftless, ignorant Negro in the hands of unscrupulous landowners and shylocks became something worse than a slave." [39] With all its abuses, however, many Negro farmers could not have existed had it not been for these advances allowed by the crop lien system.[40]

Even when not at the mercy of the money lender, the progress of the Negro tenant farmer was often impeded by bad weather or floods which frequently ruined his crops. These adversities rendered it impossible for him to pay his debts and sometimes reduced him again to a farm laborer. The result of such failures is excellently summarized thus by the *Report of the South Carolina Department of Agriculture* for 1882: "Owing to the unfavorable seasons and the short crops of last year many Negroes who had formerly rented lands were unable to meet their obligations and could not obtain further credit which was necessary for them to be able to farm as tenants. They were consequently forced by circumstances to accept employment from the landowners."[41] In spite of the difficulties under which the Negro tenant farmer labored, however, tenancy constituted a valuable school of bitter experience through which many Negroes advanced to the status of the independent farmer who stood highest in the agricultural scale.

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[37] An excellent account of this pernicious system during this period may be found in Somers, *Southern States after the War*, pp. 241-245.

[38] Holmes, George K., "Peons of the South," in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Sept. 1893, p. 226.

[39] U. S. Bureau of Labor, "The Negro Landholder of Georgia," *Bulletin No. 35*, p. 668.

[40] *Report of the Dept. of Agriculture of South Carolina*, 1881, p. 250-252.

The rise of the Negro as a farm-owning class may be accounted for in several ways. During the Civil War many Negroes were settled upon abandoned lands by the United States Government,[42] and although most of these parcels of land were returned to their original owners after the conflict, still a considerable number remained in the hands of the freedmen.[43] Other lands upon which no taxes had been paid for several years were sold for what they would bring. Accordingly a considerable number of Negroes who had saved a little money eagerly purchased these tracts. The proceeds, however, less the taxes, were subsequently turned over to their former Southern owners. A number of Negroes also secured land through the Federal Act of July 21, 1866, by which the public lands of Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas were thrown open to settlement. No distinction was made as to race or color. These lands were staked out in 80 acre parcels.[44]

Another factor making for the rise of the Negro farmer was the breaking up through sheer necessity of the large plantations by the owners themselves. Most of them returned from the Civil War impoverished, without the means of buying implements and seeds or of hiring Negroes to cultivate the plantations. Some of the least fertile lands in the South, therefore, were cut up into small farms and sold to Negroes.[45] In some cases, however, a general agreement

[41] *Report of the South Carolina Department of Agriculture*, 1882, p. 360.

[42] Pierce, *Freedmen of Port Royal*, p. 308.

[43] U. S. Bureau of Labor, "The Negro Landholder of Georgia," *Bulletin No. 35*, pp. 665, 666.

[44] *House Report No. 121*, 41st Congress, 2nd Session, p. 486.

[45] Somers, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22; Campbell, *White and Black*, p. 158; Fleming, *op. cit.*, pp. 726-730.

existed among whites in certain localities against selling lands to Negroes. Whitelaw Reid mentioned in 1865 such a community in Mississippi where any attempt to sell farms to Negroes would result in "personal danger" to the whites.[46] Many other Negroes migrated to the fertile bottom lands of the Mississippi and Yazoo deltas and to Arkansas, Texas, and Oklahoma. The extraordinary cheapness of land after the Civil War likewise enabled numbers of these thrifty Negro migrants to purchase farms out of their small earnings. Ten dollars an acre[47] was the common price, although in some cases land sold as cheaply as thirty-five cents an acre.[47a] Approximately 25,000 Negroes, it is estimated, left Georgia alone between 1870 and 1875, many of whom secured farms in the lower South and Southwest. On one occasion, it is said, a party went prepared, "taking with them enough mules and farming implements to fill three cars."[48] In 1875, Nordhoff reported having seen 2,000 Negro farmers located upon the most fertile lands of the Arkansas River bottoms. Some of the Negroes who migrated to Kansas in 1879 bought land and became independent farmers there.[49] The desire for independent ownership of land after Emancipation became so general among the Negroes that many of those who had saved money as merchants and artisans forsook the towns to purchase farms. Some of them bought large holdings.[50]

At other times farm laborers upon receiving their yearly wages would invest in a farm.[51] It was sometimes fortunate, then, that they could not be paid until the planter sold his crop. Sometimes the laborer went through the intermediate step of tenant farmer and then evolved into the independent operator.[52] In addition to the rise of the Negro as a farmer through his individual efforts, other Negroes entered the farm owner class through the medium of co-operative land buying. Speaking shortly after Emancipation, an observer, writing in 1867, with reference to the joint efforts of Negroes in purchasing land, said, "Last spring, 160 Negroes banded together, chose one of the smartest of their number as superintendent, and commenced work. Now they show you with pride 250 acres of rice, 250 acres of corn, nearly the same amount of peas . . . besides many acres of smaller crops. This joint stock company was working not only with energy but in perfect harmony."[53] Another example of this was thus given by a writer in 1870, saying, "I met at a cotton merchant's in that city (Savannah) ten freedmen who had clubbed together with the proceeds of their crop and bought a whole sea island plantation of 700 acres."[54]

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[46] Reid, *After the War*, p. 564.

[47] Nordhoff, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

[47a] Some of the land thus disposed of became valuable in the hands of foreigners who exploited the mineral wealth in these parts. The poor whites of the South did not appreciate its natural resources.

[48] Nordhoff, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

[49] Woodson, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-146; Latham, *op. cit.*, p. 128, 140; Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

[50] Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

[51] Negroes as slaves had learned the meaning of land ownership, and their friends also taught them that it was an important step in their development.

The development of the farmer class manifested considerable progress. It evidenced a distinct gain over the general status of the antebellum Negroes, who were chiefly farm laborers and who had little or no industry save that produced by the lash. As a result of their previous training under constant supervision of either master or overseer, the postbellum Negro farmers had scarcely any conception of the responsibility which the ownership and management of a farm entailed. Most of them were ignorant, and wholly lacking in the experience of independent husbandry. Many of these unfortunate farmers, therefore, failed.[55]

In order to hold these lands many Negro farmers were forced to work on the white plantations. Especially was this the case in the upland regions. Where the farm rarely exceeded 10 acres, the Negro owner, unable to make a living on the rather small parcel of land, generally worked most of the time for a white planter, tending his own crop during his spare time and after harvest. Since his crop could not be planted until after seeding time on the large plantation it frequently happened that, thus delayed, the corn, hay, or tobacco of the Negro farmer would be largely ruined by the frost. In South Carolina many a Negro farmer worked in the phosphate beds while his wife and children tilled the farm, the father assisting after work hours and on Sundays and holidays.[56]

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[52] The classic example of such an evolution was given by J. W. Alvord, Inspector of the Freedmen's Schools, who, writing from the South in 1870, said, "The first year they worked for a bare subsistence, the second year they bought stock, mules, implements, etc., the third year many rented lands and by the fourth year large numbers of them are prepared to buy. This is the record of the most industrious. Others are following at a slower pace."—Alvord, *Letters from the South*, Jan. 18, 1870, p. 19.

[53] *American Missionary*, 1865, p. 248.

[54] *Report of the Freedmen's Bureau*, 1870.

[55] Losses by Negro farmers ranging all the way from $2,000 to $10,000 were reported from Mississippi, Texas, Louisiana, and other states in 1867.—*Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture*, 1867, pp. 420-423.

On the other hand, Negro farmers with holdings of from 20 to 40 acres generally spent most of their time on their own land. Most of the land which Negroes could acquire was not sufficiently fertile to yield a livelihood on a small acreage, and farmers with larger areas sometimes found themselves hard pressed. But in order to make ends meet these Negro planters sometimes hired themselves out to the white farmers at harvest time after giving adequate attention to their own crops. Others, moreover, did a little teaming or hauling. A few Negro farmers spent most of their time at trades and tended their farms when they had nothing better to do.[57]

Between the independent farmers and the farm laborers was another smaller group of agricultural Negroes who, while enjoying a higher position than the field hand, yet fell below the independent status of the farmer. Upon them devolved considerable responsibility. This was the farm foreman and overseer group. Most of them had evolved from the driver class of the old slave days and at first were designated as "captains" in recognition of the changed times. White overseers, however, were generally employed.

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[56] In freedom the Negro had to struggle about as hard as he did as a slave because the hard times made it more difficult for him to earn a living.

[57] Here the freedman had an advantage over the slave; for, although the struggle to make a living was an abstruse problem, it was made a little easier by the freedom of choice and the opportunity to engage in various occupations.

The next largest group of Negroes during the period of transition found employment in domestic and personal service. There arose a large demand for servants after the Civil War,[58] and since the Southern poor whites in the main still looked upon domestic service as a "Negro job," the Negroes encountered virtually no opposition.[59] According to travelers and investigators all the house servants were black. Like the agricultural laborers, mechanics, and artisans, thousands of rural servants flocked to the towns after the Civil War.[60] There they found work as waiters, butlers, coachmen, maids, hackmen, washerwomen, cooks, bootblacks, seamstresses, nurses, and other domestics. They were often cited as unreliable and as evincing a marked dislike for household work.[61] This was true in part, for such work still smacked of the slave régime and was therefore odious to many Negro women. The former efficient Negro domestics of the antebellum South, too, had sufficient initiative to employ themselves. In many instances this aversion was due to bad treatment and irregular payment.[62] Hence, many Negro women engaged in such work only under duress. The Negro male when he worked for wages, moreover, tended to imitate the whites by keeping his wife and daughters at home.[63]

In the North, where the Negroes depended chiefly upon domestic and personal employment for a livelihood, they were still yielding ground before the Irish and other white servants.[64] Despite their opposition, however, the Negroes continued to find positions as house servants, porters, waiters, and bellboys.[65] In the West they entered similar occupations, although they met strong foreign white competition.[66] By the migration of Southern freedmen, however, some additions took place in the ranks of the Northern Negro servants. Through the efforts of the Freedmen's Bureau, too, openings for Negro servants were found in the North and West. In other instances agents from the North solicited Negro workers in the South, and a considerable number went North for menial service.[67]

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[58] Nordhoff, *Cotton States in 1875*, p. 100.

[59] Labor seemed so undignified that poor whites with pride would almost starve rather than work.

[60] Almost all studies of the Reconstruction emphasize this fact unduly.

[61] Fleming, *op. cit.*, p. 715; Taylor, *Reconstruction in South Carolina*, p. 58; Campbell, *White and Black*, pp. 144-145.

[62] This statement is based upon testimony taken from Negroes who once served in these capacities.

[63] Campbell, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-145.

[64] Freeman, *Some Impressions of the United States*, p. 149.

Not many Negroes in the South were engaged in manufacturing during this period. This section was still predominantly agricultural. The industries called into existence by the Civil War had been destroyed by the Union soldiers.[68] From the nascent industries of the South, moreover, the rising class consciousness of the whites and the prevailing notion of the unfitness of the Negro for mill work tended generally to exclude Negroes from the factories. Particularly was this true of the cotton mills where Negroes were employed chiefly as common laborers in the yards as waste gatherers and scrubbers of machinery.[69] The fallacy that the Negro could not work in the presence of machinery was shattered by Negroes who were successfully employed by the hundreds in the large flour mills and tobacco factories of Richmond and the tobacco establishments of Lynchburg, Virginia,[70] and of Durham, North Carolina.[71] In a handle factory of Greensboro, North Carolina, moreover, Negro operators turned out a useful product which was sent all over the world.[72]

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[65] Next to agriculture this was their chief occupation for some years, and they had little opportunity to learn anything else.

[66] Years later this competition became disastrous when the foreigners began to outnumber the Negroes to the extent that the number of the latter there became insignificant.

[67] Taylor, *Reconstruction in Virginia*, pp. 88-89; Woodson, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

[68] U. S. Department of Commerce, *Census of Manufactures, 1880.*

[69] *Report of the Investigation Committee of the Senate on Education and Labor*, 1885, IV, pp. 48-49; Nordhoff, *op. cit.*, p. 84; Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

[70] Taylor, *Reconstruction in Virginia*, pp. 116-119.

[71] From the very beginning Negroes figured in the development of Durham after the Civil War. See W. K. Boyd's *Story of Durham*, pp. 278-279. In Winston Salem the Negro has also developed in the same direction.

[72] Saunders, *Through the Light Continent*, pp. 75-76.

In the phosphate industry of South Carolina the Negro workers had a virtual monopoly.[73] They were also extensively employed in brickmaking and shipcaulking.[74] The scarcity of jobs caused the whites to encroach more and more upon brickmaking in some places after the Civil War, and the rising labor unions tended to bar the Negroes from this trade which prior to the War had been largely in their hands.[75] There were a few independent Negro manufacturers, but they were unimportant.

A considerable number of Negroes participated in the building of railroads in the South after the War, most of which had been destroyed during the rebellion. The construction of these routes during the Reconstruction tended to change the status of many Negro workers by drawing upon the farm laborers who were glad to exchange the drudgery of field work with its small and uncertain pay for the more lucrative task of railroad building. About 35,000 Negroes, chiefly farm hands, it was reported in 1875, were persuaded to leave rural South Carolina and Georgia for railroad labor in Arkansas, Texas and Louisiana, where better wages were paid.[76] One road alone is said to have employed 5,000 Negroes.[77] Thousands of others migrated either to other sections of the Southwest or to West Virginia to work on the railroads there between 1868 and 1871.[78] Most of them were common laborers, but they were also employed as track layers, menders, brakemen, firemen, engineers, and mechanics.[79] Many other Negroes left the farm for railroad work in Louisiana where they received $1.75 a day in 1875. These Negro laborers were reported by the superintendent to be the very best of workers.[80]

In addition to working on railroads thousands of Negroes flocked to the coal and iron mines of Alabama and East Tennessee, and to the coal mines of Southern Ohio and West Virginia. The movement to the latter States took place in the late eighties. The Negro migrants to Ohio gained a place in the mining industry of that State mainly by entering as strike breakers.[81] Although the Negro had long been employed as a miner, without a doubt large accession to this field occurred as a result of the somewhat easy entry of the Negro into the coal and iron mines after the Civil War.

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[73] Taylor, A. A., *Reconstruction in South Carolina*, p. 72.

[74] *The Tradesman*, June 15, 1889, p. 75; Brackett, *Notes on the Progress of the Colored People in Maryland After the Civil War*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 377-378.

[75] Brackett, *op. cit.*, pp. 377-378.

[76] Latham, *Black and White*, p. 140; Nordhoff, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

[77] Taylor, *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Virginia*, p. 115.

[78] Woodson, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

[79] Taylor, *Negro in the Reconstruction of Virginia*, p. 115.

[80] Nordhoff, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

Negroes also engaged extensively in fishing, oystering and maritime employments.[82] Especially was this evident along the large rivers where they served as deck hands, cabin boys, porters, and stevedores.[83] Increasing numbers of Negroes found employment after the War in the lumber and turpentine industries of the South.[84] In the sawmills and such camps higher wages served to attract many who saw the opportunity to make more money than agriculture afforded,[85] and thus again tended to reduce the number of Negroes in farm labor.

The effect of Emancipation did not seem materially to lessen the number of Negroes engaged in common labor, such as they had been accustomed to before their liberation. The Negro mechanic or artisan, moreover, was placed in a more uncertain position. Although some travelers during the seventies and eighties reported that the Negro artisan was holding his own,[86] others more penetrating could see that the Negro was gradually losing the position which he enjoyed in the mechanical arts before and during the Civil War.[87]

The causes are not difficult to ascertain. Many of the slave artisans renounced their trades after Emancipation, looking upon such vocations as a badge of servitude.[88] Others left the rural districts for the towns where they were unable to find work at their trades. During the slave régime the master apprenticed his Negroes to the trades arbitrarily; after the War the freedmen might or might not learn a trade and consequently drifted into other pursuits.[89] The master usually bargained for the hire of his slave mechanics. After the War the Negro became his own contractor and consequently suffered a disadvantage in competition with the whites. He could not receive fair wages in most cases; and in addition was forced to face the animus of his former masters and other whites upon whom he had to depend for employment. The training he received in slavery, moreover, did not fit him for the expert technique of modern carpentry, railroad building, or the successful repairing of factory machinery. Besides these disadvantages, many Negroes, freed from the supervision of their masters, became careless, indifferent, and unreliable.[90] The prime purpose for the founding of such schools as Hampton and later Tuskegee was to correct these deficiencies by giving Negroes scientific training in the trades. In the North and the West the hostility of trade unions and the refusal of the whites to work with Negroes, however, kept the number of Negro artisans small.[91] If any variation at all took place in the North it tended steadily downward.

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[81] McNeil, *The Labor Movement*, 260.

[82] *Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture of South Carolina, 1883*, p. 300; Brackett, *op. cit.*, p. 375; Taylor, *Negro in the Reconstruction of Virginia*, p. 72; *Negro in the Reconstruction of South Carolina*, p. 80.

[83] This occupation tended to draw Negroes away from agriculture. Many persons referred to this as a serious tendency.

[84] Thompson, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Georgia*, pp. 307-308; Latham, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-118.

[85] Davis, *Reconstruction in Florida*, p. 397.

[86] Nordhoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 31, 72, 99.

[87] Brackett, *op. cit.*, pp. 375, 376.

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[88] Most of such Negroes, however, usually found an outlet in politics.

[89] *House Miscellaneous Documents*, No. 154, 41st Congress, 2nd Session.

[90] "The Negro Artisan," in the *Atlanta University Publications*, No. 7, 1902, pp. 19-23.

[91] *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 81, pp. 225, 226.

CHAPTER III

THE STATUS IN 1890

Before 1890 it was a known fact that the Negro was largely an agricultural and domestic service worker. It was also clear that even at that time he was already tending to leave the farm for domestic service and industry. Just what numbers or percentages of Negroes were farmers, servants, mechanics, and the like, however, could not be ascertained with any degree of exactitude prior to that time. In this connection the first ten United States Census reports on occupations, published decennially, throw no light upon the subject, since no distinction was made among the various workers by race or color. In 1890 for the first time, however, the United States Bureau of the Census made such distinctions in compiling data on white and Negro laborers. A comparative estimate of the number of Negro and white workers is shown in the accompanying table.[1]

This report in 1890 showed that over 3,000,000 Negroes or almost three-fifths of the entire Negro population ten years of age and over were wage earners. Only the foreign whites had a larger percentage of members at work. The Census of 1890, moreover, proved that the Negro was overwhelmingly engaged in agricultural pursuits, for this occupation alone gave employment to 1,728,325 or almost three-fifths of all the Negro wage earners, as is shown on the following page.[2]

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[1] U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Negro Population in the United States, 1790-1915*, p. 526. Percentages are derived therefrom. All other figures given have been taken from the same source unless otherwise stated. Figures from this volume have been corrected and have been cited wherever possible. Compare *Special Report on the Statistics of Occupations in 1890*, Bureau of the Census, p. 19.

[2] U. S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Special Report on the Statistics of Occupations in 1890*, p. 19.

TABLE 9.—NEGROES GAINFULLY EMPLOYED COMPARED WITH NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF EACH ELEMENT IN THE POPULATION IN 1890

Nativity and Color	Population 10 years of age and over		
	Total	Number and Per Cent Gainfully Employed	
		Number	Per Cent
Total White	41,931,074	19,542,188	46.61
Native White	33,144,187	14,437,431	43.56
Native Parents	25,375,766	10,895,023	42.92
Foreign Parents	7,768,421	3,542,408	45.60
Foreign Whites	8,786,887	5,104,757	58.10
Negroes	5,328,972	3,073,164	57.67

TABLE 10.—DISTRIBUTION OF NEGROES IN OCCUPATIONS IN 1890

	Number	Per Cent
Agricultural pursuits	1,728,325	56.2
Domestic and personal service	956,754	31.1
Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits	208,374	6.8
Trade and transportation	145,717	4.8
Professional service	33,994	1.1

TABLE 11.—DISTRIBUTION OF NEGROES IN AGRICULTURE IN 1890

Agricultural Pursuits	Both Sexes	Male	Female
Agricultural laborers	1,106,728	729,197	377,531
Dairymen and dairywomen	666	485	181
Farmers, planters and overseers	590,666	541,300	49,366
Gardeners, florists, nurserymen, etc	5,488	5,182	306
Lumbermen and raftsmen	3,742	3,738	4
Stock raisers, herders and drovers	1,325	1,300	25
Woodchoppers	7,676	7,661	15
Turpentine farmers and laborers, other agricultural pursuits	12,034	11,795	239
Total	1,728,325	1,300,658	427,667

The Negro agricultural workers in 1890 were almost wholly in the South. Ninety-six per cent of the Negro farmers, tenants, and farm laborers lived in this section at that time. Agriculture was their dominant occupation just as it had been for generations past. In the South Atlantic section, for example, out of 1,344,140 Negro wage earners, 765,441, or 56.9 per cent, depended upon agriculture, fishing and mining in 1890. The percentage was still higher in the South Central Division. In this section, 938,467, or 66.9 per cent of all Negro workers in 1890 were thus engaged.

In some of the Southern States the proportion ran still higher. In Alabama, for instance, 72 per cent of the Negro workers were either agricultural laborers, farm owners or tenants; in Arkansas 74 per cent; and in South Carolina 77 per cent. Mississippi had the highest average, for there four out of every five Negroes were occupied in agriculture in some form. No State south of North Carolina had less than three-fifths of its Negroes in agriculture.

In contrast to the importance of agriculture, fishing and mining to the Southern Negroes, a comparatively small number were thus occupied in the North. In this section only 53,495 such Negro agricultural workers were found in 1890. They represented but 3.1 per cent of all the Negroes in this occupation. Negro farm owners were negligible. What few Negro workers of these classes lived in the North were largely resident in the North Central Division. This section led with 37,480, followed by the North Atlantic with 13,916. The smallest number, 2,099, were in the Western Division. Only five Northern States had more than one-fifth of its Negro workers in these spheres. And in most of these States the total number of Negroes was so insignificant as to render the percentage of little importance. Kansas and Missouri, however, were exceptions.

The second largest group embraced the domestic and personal service workers. Almost one million Negroes earned their living as servants, waiters, cooks, porters, and barbers. These wage earners represented almost one-third or 31.1 per cent of the Negro laborers and were distributed according to the accompanying table.[3]

[3] *Negro Population in the United States, 1790-1915*, p. 526.

TABLE 12.—DISTRIBUTION OF NEGROES IN DOMESTIC SERVICE IN 1890

Occupations	Number	Male	Female
Barbers and hairdressers	17,480	16,966	514
Boarding and lodging homekeepers	2,323	537	1,786
Bartenders	1,878	1,874	4
Hotel keepers	420	294	126
Janitors and sextons	5,945	5,500	445
Housekeepers and stewards	9,248	1,144	8,104
Servants and waiters	401,215	101,742	299,473
Soldiers, sailors and U. S. marines	2,782	2,782	......
Watchmen, policemen, firemen, etc.	2,019	2,015	4
Launderers and laundresses	153,684	2,144	151,540
Nurses and midwives	5,213	323	4,890
Restaurant keepers	2,157	1,606	551
Saloonkeepers	932	862	70

The largest number of Negroes in domestic and personal service in 1890 were, likewise, in the South. Out of 963,080 such workers in 1890, 755,941, or practically four-fifths of them, lived in the South. This was not the principal occupation for Negroes in the Southern States, however, for less than a third of the Negroes in the South Atlantic Division, and less than one-fourth of those in the South Central Division, were domestics. Yet the largest majority of Negro waiters, cooks, house servants, butlers, laundresses, and barbers lived in the South.

TABLE 13.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF NEGROES IN DOMESTIC AND PERSONAL SERVICE IN THE NORTH, 1890

Section	All Occupations	Domestic Services			
		Both Sexes	Male	Female	Per Cent
The North	327,080	207,139	127,796	79,343	66.3
North Atlantic Div.	136,148	91,420	51,154	40,266	67.1
North Central Div.	175,757	105,356	68,602	36,754	59.9
Western Division	15,175	10,363	8,040	2,323	60.2

Only one-fifth of Negro domestic workers, moreover, were found in the North and West in 1890. Domestic service, however, constituted their chief occupation. This is shown by the fact that out of 327,080 Negro workers in the North and West, 207,139, or 63 per cent, were engaged in domestic or personal service. In the various sections the proportion was even more pronounced. In the North Atlantic Division out of 136,148 Negro workers, 91,420 or 67.1 per cent were domestics and in the North Central Division 105,356 out of 175,757, or 59.9 per cent, performed similar tasks. The highest percentage, however, was found in the Far West, where 68.2 per cent of the Negroes depended upon domestic service for a livelihood. The Northern and Western Negroes were so confined to domestic service that in only New Hampshire were less than half the Negroes working in this field. Percentages ranged from 47.2 per cent in this State to 94.7 per cent in Arizona. New York, Pennsylvania, and Missouri had 69.2, 69.1, and 56.9 per cent, respectively, of their working Negroes thus engaged.

Despite this, however, the Negroes were decidedly outranked in the number of all domestic and personal service workers by both the native whites of native parentage and by the foreign whites.

TABLE 14.—COMPARATIVE NUMBERS OF NEGROES AND WHITES ENGAGED IN DOMESTIC AND PERSONAL SERVICE IN 1890

(Both Sexes)

	Number	Per Cent
Native whites, native parentage	1,342,028	30.78
Native whites, foreign parentage	617,089	14.15
Foreign whites	1,375,067	31.53
Negroes	963,080	22.08

TABLE 15.—COMPARATIVE NUMBERS OF MALES AND FEMALES IN DOMESTIC AND PERSONAL SERVICE

	Males		Females	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Native whites, native parentage	891,132	33.09	450,896	27.04
Native whites, foreign parentage	368,736	13.69	248,353	14.89
Foreign whites	914,865	33.98	460,202	27.59
Negroes	457,091	16.97	505,989	30.34

The tendency of the Negro to advance in the manufacturing and mechanical industries was likewise borne out by the fact that about 200,000 Negroes were workers in this field in 1890. Most of these were railroad hands, carpenters, bricklayers, plasterers, blacksmiths, and laborers in lumber and planing mills, iron and steel plants, and tobacco factories. The large majority of them were unskilled. All

Negroes engaged in manufacturing comprised, however, only a slight proportion of the Negro workers, 6.8 per cent, and were distributed according to the accompanying table.

TABLE 16.—NEGROES IN MANUFACTURING AND MECHANICAL PURSUITS IN 1890

Occupations	Both Sexes	Male	Female
Textile Industry—			
Bleachery and dye-works operatives	225	187	38
Carpet factory operatives	83	43	40
Cotton mill operatives	1,077	820	257
Hosiery and knitting mill operatives	64	39	25
Silk mill operatives	24	11	13
Woolen mill operatives	346	268	78
Other textile mill operatives	3,736	3,328	408
Dressmakers	7,586	7	7,579
Milliners	386	3	383
Seamstresses	11,846	24	11,822
Tailors and tailoresses	1,330	960	370
Hat and cap makers	56	52	4
Shirt, collar and cuff makers	85	30	55
Other textile workers	83	35	48
Chemical and allied products—			
Oil well and oil works employees	811	806	5
Other chemical workers	414	408	6
Clay, Glass, and Stone Products—			
Brick and tile makers, etc	10,521	10,495	26
Glass workers	252	247	5
Marble and stone cutters	1,279	1,279	...
Potters	193	189	4
Food and Kindred Products—			
Bakers	1,135	1,064	71
Butter and cheese makers	81	76	5
Confectioners	477	405	72
Millers	1,487	1,484	3
Other food preparers	2,746	2,702	44
Iron and Steel and their Products—			
Blacksmiths	10,988	10,984	4
Machinists	857	857	...
Steam boilermakers	157	157	...
Other iron and steel workers	7,357	7,316	41
Leather and its Finished Products—			
Boots and shoemakers and repairers	5,087	5,004	8*
Harness and saddle makers and repairers	295	295	...
Leather curriers and tanners	1,103	1,100	3
Trunk and leather case makers	68	67	1
Liquor and other Beverages—			
Bottle and soda water makers	88	85	3
Brewers and malsters	136	136	...
Distillers and rectifiers	472	472	...
Lumber and its Remanufactures—			
Cabinet makers	345	345	...
Coopers	2,648	2,648	...
Saw and planing mill employees	17,276	17,247	29
Other woodworkers	2,016	1,927	89

* This error is found in the U. S. Census *Report on Negro Population, 1790-1915*, p. 527.

TABLE 16.—NEGROES IN MANUFACTURING AND MECHANICAL PURSUITS IN 1890—*Continued*

Occupations	Both Sexes	Male	Female
Paper and Printing—			
Bookbinders	66	52	14
Engravers	25	23	2
Paper and pulp mill operatives	255	230	25
Printers, lithographers and pressmen	944	872	72
Metals and Metal Products other than Iron and Steel—			
Brass workers	89	89	...
Clock and watch makers and repairers	61	60	1
Gold and silver workers	66	66	...
Tin plate and tinware workers	764	757	7
Other metal workers	462	456	6
Miscellaneous Industries—			
Broom and brush makers	174	172	2
Charcoal, coke and lime burners	1,595	1,593	2
Engineers and firemen (not locomotive)	6,326	6,326	...
Glove makers	10	6	4
Manufacturers and officials	1,077	1,074	3
Model and pattern makers	18	18	...
Photographers	190	184	6
Rubber factory operatives	42	39	3
Tobacco and cigar factory operatives	15,004	10,480	4,524
Upholsterers	724	695	29
Other miscellaneous industries	13,496	13,018	478
Fishing and Mining—			
Fishermen and oystermen	10,071	9,950	121
Miners and quarrymen	19,007	18,986	21
Building Trades—			
Carpenters and joiners	22,581	22,573	8
Masons, brick and stone	9,760	9,758	2
Painters, glaziers and varnishers	4,447	4,438	9
Paperhangers	274	272	2
Plasterers	4,006	4,003	3
Plumbers, gas and steamfitters	635	634	1
Roofers and slaters	243	243	...
Mechanics not otherwise specified	746	746	...

Most of the Negroes engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits were in the South in 1890. Out of the 172,970[4] Negro industrial workers in this year, 142,864, or 82.6 per cent, were in the South. Here were the majority of the tobacco strippers, iron and steel hands, coal miners, saw and planing mill operatives, fertilizer workers, and textile laborers. Carpenters, bricklayers, plasterers, and other artisans were almost wholly in the South. These workers, however, constituted a very small proportion of the Negro wage earners. In the South Atlantic and South Central Divisions they comprised 85,429 and 57,435, respectively.

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[4] This classification was made according to the census of 1890 and does not include Negro miners, fishermen and oystermen, and a few others who in subsequent occupation schedules have been included under manufacturing and mechanical pursuits. See *Special Report on the Statistics of Occupations, 1890*. Derived from p. 63. Compare with table in *Negro Population in the U. S., 1790-1915*, pp. 526-527.

TABLE 17.—COMPARATIVE PERCENTAGES OF NEGROES AND WHITES OF ALL PERSONS ENGAGED IN MANUFACTURING AND MECHANICAL PURSUITS IN 1890

Nativity and Color	Both Sexes	Male	Female
Native whites, native parentage	40.60	41.25	38.01
Native whites, foreign parentage	24.40	21.15	37.24
Foreign whites	31.37	33.72	22.08
Negroes	3.40	3.60	2.61

A much smaller number of Negroes were engaged in manufacturing pursuits in the North. The 30,106, so occupied, represented a small percentage of the total number of Negro workers in 1890. Despite the smallness of their numbers, however, a relatively larger percentage of Negroes were engaged in industrial pursuits in the North than in the South. In the North Atlantic Division the highest percentage was found. Here about one-tenth of the Negroes were employed in industrial pursuits, either within or without the factories. In the North Central Division 8.4 per cent were similarly occupied. The smallest proportion, 8 per cent, was reported in the Far West.

Higher averages prevailed in some of the States. New Hampshire had the highest proportion, 27.2 per cent, but her few Negroes rendered such a percentage of little comparative significance. Pennsylvania industries, followed by New York, gave employment to the largest number of Negroes. These States showed 10.7 and 8.9 per cent, respectively, of their Negro workers engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits.

TABLE 18.—COMPARATIVE PERCENTAGES OF NEGRO AND WHITE MALES AND FEMALES OF THEIR RESPECTIVE GROUPS IN MANUFACTURING AND MECHANICAL PURSUITS IN 1890

Nativity and Color	Males	Females
Native whites, native parentage	17.58	28.73
Native whites, foreign parentage	31.39	47.53
Foreign whites	31.65	29.27
Negroes	6.96	2.76

A somewhat smaller number of Negroes were found in trade and transportation. They constituted 145,717 laborers and comprised but 4.8 per cent of all Negro workers. They were employed chiefly in menial capacities as shown in the table below.[5]

TABLE 19.—DISTRIBUTION OF NEGROES IN TRADE AND TRANSPORTATION IN 1890

Occupations	Both Sexes	Male	Female
Total	145,717	143,371	2,346
Agents	1,172	1,108	64
Bankers and brokers	114	111	3
Boatmen and sailors	6,545	6,543	2
Bookkeepers and accountants	293	239	54
Clerks and copyists	4,972	4,618	354
Stenographers and typists	126	94	32
Commercial travelers	103	95	8
Draymen, hackmen, teamsters, etc.	43,963	43,914	49
Foremen and overseers	471	460	11
Hostlers	10,500	10,486	14
Hucksters and peddlers	2,516	2,041	475
Livery stable keepers	390	390	...
Merchants and dealers (retail)	6,646	6,027	619
Merchants and dealers (wholesale)	535	529	6
Messengers and errand boys	4,119	4,046	73
Officials of banks and companies	213	213	...
Packers and shippers	567	530	37
Porters and helpers (in stores)	11,694	11,649	45
Salesmen and saleswomen	1,166	1,023	143
Steam railway employees	47,548	47,316	232
Street railway employees	589	589	...
Telegraph and telephone linesmen	271	271	...
Telegraph and telephone operators	156	93	63
Undertakers	231	227	4
Others in trade and transportation	817	759	58

The Negro workers in trade and transportation were overwhelmingly in the South. Almost four-fifths, or 79.6 per cent of the Negroes in these occupations, worked in those parts in 1890. In that section were found the largest number of Negro drivers, teamsters, delivery men, railroad workers, stevedores, store keepers, and the like. The percentage that they constituted of all the Negro workers in this section was very small, comprising less than 5 per cent in the South Atlantic Division, and a little more than 3 per cent in the South Central Division.

In contrast to the situation in the South only one-fifth of all the Negro wage earners in trade and transportation were found in the North. Yet this occupation was relatively of more importance to the Northern Negro than to the Southern black. This is shown by the fact that the proportion of Negroes working as teamsters, hostlers, and livery stable hands was twice that of the Southern Negroes. For example, in the North Atlantic and North Central Division 10.6 and 8.03 per cent respectively of all Negro workers earned their livelihood by means of this occupation. Opposed to this, only 4.9 and 3.4 per cent of all Negro workers in the South Atlantic and South Central Divisions respectively were engaged in trade and transportation.

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[5] For other important facts see *Negro Population in the U. S., 1790-1915,* pp. 526-527.

TABLE 20.—COMPARATIVE PERCENTAGE OF MALES AND FEMALES OF EACH ELEMENT ENGAGED IN TRADE AND TRANSPORTATION IN 1890

Nativity and Color	Male	Female
Native whites, native parentage	16.99	7.50
Native whites, foreign parentage	23.57	11.09
Foreign whites	15.65	4.49
Negroes	6.82	0.24

TABLE 21.—RELATIVE NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGES OF NEGROES AND WHITES IN TRADE AND TRANSPORTATION

Nativity and Color	Number	Per Cent		
		Both Sexes	Male	Female
Native whites, native parentage	1,722,462	51.79	52.31	44.64
Native whites, foreign parentage	734,604	22.09	20.83	39.06
Foreign whites	712,558	21.42	21.88	15.25
Negroes	145,717	4.38	4.63	1.03

The number of Negroes engaged in the professions was negligible. They aggregated some 33,994 persons but constituted only 1.1 per cent of all Negro workers in 1890.[6] Most of the Negroes thus engaged lived in the South and practiced among their own people.

A glance at the tables above brings out some interesting facts. First, by showing the second largest proportion of persons engaged in remunerative labor, the Negroes had effectually disproved the notion that they would not work. The Negroes with 57.67 per cent of their group, ten years of age and over, at work was exceeded only by the foreign

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[6] *Ibid.*, p. 526.

TABLE 22.—DISTRIBUTION OF NEGROES IN PROFESSIONAL SERVICE IN 1890

Occupations	Both Sexes	Male	Female
Actors, professional showmen, etc.	1,490	1,422	68
Architects, designers, draftsmen, etc.	44	44	....
Artists and teachers of art	150	84	66
Clergymen	12,159	12,110	49
Dentists	120	118	2
Electricians, engineers (civil) and surveyors	279	278	1
Journalists	134	129	5
Lawyers	431	431	....
Literary and scientific persons	91	69	22
Musicians and teachers of music	1,881	1,287	594
Officials (Government)	1,115	1,090	25
Physicians and surgeons	909	794	115
Teachers and professors in colleges	15,100	7,236	7,864
Other professional service	91	78	13
Total	33,994	25,170	8,824

white group with 58.1 per cent.[7] There was, too, the overwhelming concentration of the Negroes in the two lowest forms of endeavor—agricultural pursuits and domestic and personal service. So dependent were they upon these two occupations that seven out of every eight Negroes, in 1890, might be designated either as field workers or servants. More than one-half the Negroes tilled the soil while another third served in a menial capacity. The majority of such workers toiled in the South.

TABLE 23.—NUMBER AND PER CENT OF MALE AND FEMALE NEGROES IN AGRICULTURE IN 1890 BY SECTIONS

Section	Number			Negro Per Cent	
	Total	Male	Female	Male	Female
North Atlantic	13,916	13,826	90	99.36	.64
South Atlantic	765,441	585,362	180,079	76.47	23.53
North Central	37,480	36,706	774	97.94	2.06
South Central	938,467	691,628	246,839	73.59	26.41
Mountain	2,099	2,072	27	98.72	1.28

Most important of all these workers were the 590,666 Negroes who were listed as farmers, planters and overseers, a number far in excess of anything before this period. This shows that the Negroes were gradually acquiring land.[8] Of these over 120,000 owned their farms.[9] Almost a million Negroes in domestic and personal service no doubt showed a marked growth among this class since the antebellum period. The progress made by the Negro in the industrial pursuits was less significant but nevertheless evident, for about 200,000 were identified with manufacturing and 145,717 with trade and transportation. These occupations, though undermanned, furnished 6.8 and 4.8 per cent, respectively, of the Negro workers. The business and professional classes were progressing but still remained insignificant in comparison with the masses of Negro wage earners.

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[7] See Census reports for these years.

[8] *Negro Population in the United States, 1790-1915*, pp. 526-527.

Three-fifths of all Negro wage earners in 1890, moreover, could neither read nor write. Their high proportion of illiteracy, which varied from five to nearly thirty times that for the different white groups, tended to keep the Negroes confined to the lower occupations.

TABLE 24.—PROPORTION OF ILLITERATE NEGRO AND WHITE MALES AND FEMALES AT WORK TO WHOLE NUMBER OF PERSONS OCCUPIED, 1890

General Nativity and Color	Males 10 years of age and over engaged in gainful occupations.			Females 10 years of age and over engaged in gainful occupations.		
	Total	Illiterates		Total	Illiterates	
		Number	Per Cent		Number	Per Cent
Aggregate	18,821,090	2,588,765	13.75	3,914,571	852,306	21.77
Total white.....	16,603,147	1,278,077	7.70	2,939,041	218,758	7.44
Native white...	12,273,541	788,468	6.42	2,163,890	130,536	6.03
Native parents..	9,535,827	719,824	7.55	1,359,196	118,579	8.72
Foreign parents.	2,737,714	68,644	2.51	804,694	11,957	1.49
Foreign white..	4,329,606	489,609	11.31	775,151	88,222	11.38
Total colored...	2,217,943	1,310,688	59.09	975,530	633,548	64.94
Negro	2,101,379	1,264,462	60.17	971,785	630,970	64.93

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[9] Gannett, Henry, *Occupations of the Negroes in 1890;* Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund, *Occasional Papers,* No. 6, 1894.

CHAPTER IV

AGRICULTURE UP TO THE WORLD WAR

In 1890 the American Negro was primarily an agricultural worker. In this capacity he had found his greatest field of endeavor since his importation as a slave in 1619. This preponderance of the Negro as a tiller of the soil was further substantiated by the first occupational returns by the race as released by the United States Bureau of the Census in that year. These returns, as demonstrated above, showed that out of 3,073,164 Negro wage earners in that year 1,728,325 were either farmers or farm laborers. These workers constituted almost three-fifths of the Negro working population. No other group in the American population was so overwhelmingly confined to the lowest or least paying occupation.

Attention has been directed to the tendency of the Negro worker after Emancipation to quit the farm for domestic service, industrial employments, business, and the professions. The purpose now is to ascertain whether this tendency became a definite trend or whether, because of certain conditions, this movement from the farm was retarded. At the first glance, however, we find that between 1890 and 1910 agriculture still remained the principal occupation for the Negro. As such, its importance completely overshadowed that of any other pursuit.[1]

The concentration of the Negro working population in the field of agriculture[1a] was the result of certain environmental factors which were not conducive to a mass movement away from this occupation. In the first place, nine-tenths of the

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[1] See *Negro Population in the United States, 1790-1915*, pp. 526-527.

[1a] *Ibid.*, p. 526.

Negro population lived in the South.[2] The South, too, continued predominantly agricultural, dependent upon cotton, and to a lesser degree upon tobacco, sugar, and rice.[3] In this agricultural section the Negroes served as the chief laborers in the cultivation of these staples. The Negroes were also doomed by tradition to the labor of the fields, for in most instances white men, unless on small farms of their own, counted it beneath their dignity to engage in this work. Thus when the industrialization of the South began about 1880 and attained remarkable proportions by the outbreak of the World War,[4] it had comparatively little

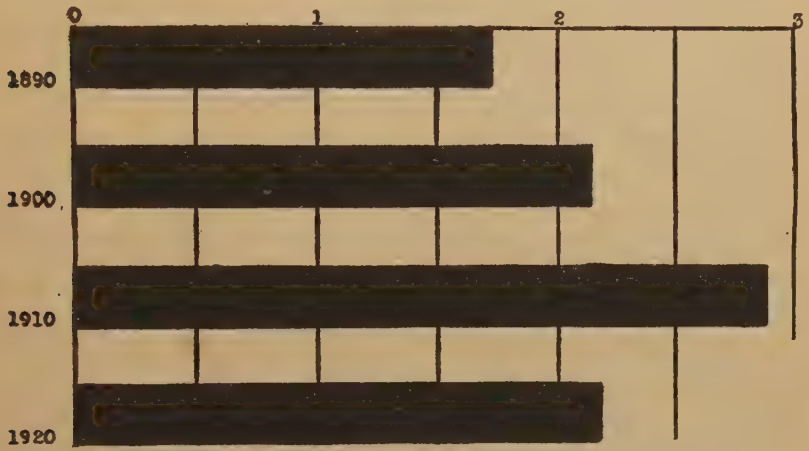

DIAGRAM 1.—INCREASE AND DECREASE OF NEGROES IN AGRICULTURE BY MILLIONS OF WORKERS, 1890-1920.

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[2] Eighty-nine per cent of the Negro population lived in the South in 1910; of these 84.7 per cent were rural dwellers in 1890 and 78.8 per cent rural in 1910. Towns of less than 2,500 inhabitants are considered rural.—*Negro Population in the United States, 1790-1915*, pp. 31, 90.

[3] See U. S. Census of Manufacturers, 1890-1910; *Literary Digest*, March 21, 1895, pp. 516-517. See *The Tradesman*, July 1, 1890.

[4] Much impetus to the industrialization of the South was given by the Atlanta Cotton Exposition of 1881 and the New Orleans Exposition of 1884. The rich veins of coal and iron began to be worked in Georgia, Tennessee, and Alabama. Whereas in 1880 only 184,000 tons of pig iron were produced in the South, by 1890, almost ten times that amount, 1,750,000 tons, were mined. Large blast furnaces, iron and steel mills, fertilizer plants, lumber, saw and planing mills, furniture factories and cottonseed oil mills were built. The greatest development, however, took place in the case of the cotton mills. The spindles in operation in 1880 were increased to 1,554,000 by 1890, growing at a rate almost three times as rapid as those of New England. Looms in the

significance for the Negro agricultural workers, as will be pointed out. The poor whites took the cotton mills and the iron and steel factories as their own; and, with the exception of the rough work in the blast furnaces and sweeping, scrubbing, and the like in cotton factories, there was virtually no work for the Negroes in the plants. They were, therefore, compelled to labor on the farms, the only other work available.

The majority of Negroes, too, were untrained in industry, for their economic medium had been the cultivation of the soil.[5] The poor whites also were ignorant of the methods of factory work, but the owners were disposed to train them while rejecting the Negroes as incapable of such service. The usual reasons given for such discrimination were that Negroes were unreliable, prone to take holidays, and psychically unfit for mill work. The social bugaboo of the South, especially where Negroes worked in the same room with white women, resulted also in confining the Negroes to the farms in the South.[6] They could not enter Northern industry in large numbers, for foreign whites, as will be shown later, performed the only labor which the Negro farm hands were fitted to do.[7]

Because of lack of capital and business training, moreover, Negroes in large numbers could not enter business.

South also increased from about 11,800 in 1880 to 36,200 in 1890. It was said that 14,000 industrial plants had been built in the South between 1886 and 1900 alone. Most of the capital for these mills was raised in the South, although some came from the North and some from abroad. The rapid development of the Southern cotton mills was facilitated by their proximity to raw materials, abundant water power, mild climate and immunity from taxation. One of the greatest assets, however, was the cheap labor supply furnished by the poor whites. The rapid building of cotton mills in the South soon brought them into competition with New England mills, particularly in producing coarse cloth. Hence many Northern factory owners moved their plants South.—*Mineral Industries*, 1890, pp. 349-355; *Gunton's Magazine*, May, 1897, pp. 309-310; *Literary Digest*, March 2, 1895, pp. 516-517; *Ibid.*, March 21, 1895, pp. 516-517; *The Nation*, March 21, 1895; *Outlook*, Dec. 16, 1897; p. 935; *The Tradesman*, 1890, *passim;* Kohn, August, *Cotton Mills of South Carolina*, *passim;* Thompson, Holland, *The New South* in *The Chronicles of America Series*, Vol. 42; Chap. V.

[5] They had few industrial schools and their opportunities for apprenticeship were limited.

[6] In the South nothing must interfere with race distinctions, for this is the religion of the people.

[7] In the South foreign whites were not immediately popular as menials.

Confined largely to an agricultural South, therefore, the Negro during this period remained preëminently an agricultural worker.

TABLE 25.—COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTION OF NEGROES IN AGRICULTURE, 1890-1910

			Increase	
Agriculture	1890	1910	Number	Per cent
Total	1,728,325	2,881,454	1,153,129	66.7
Agricultural laborers	1,106,728	1,943,755	837,027	75.6
Dairymen and dairywomen	666	2,721	2,055	308.5
Farmers, planters & overseers	590,666	879,600	288,934	48.9
Gardeners, florists, nurserymen, etc.	5,488	5,171	317	5.7
Lumbermen, raftsmen, woodchoppers, etc.	11,418	23,034	11,616	101.7
Stockraisers, herders and drovers	1,325	2,147	822	62.0
Turpentine farmers and laborers	12,034	24,630	12,596	104.6

Of the entire number of Negroes engaged in agriculture between 1890 and 1910 farm laborers predominated. In 1890 this class comprised 1,106,728, or 64 per cent, of the Negroes engaged in farm labor. By 1910 this number had increased to 1,943,755, which represented a gain of 75.6 per cent. The work done by this large group, however, has no special significance in the evolution of the Negro labor, since they performed essentially identical tasks with which the Negroes, as slaves, had been associated for more than two centuries. They were still engaged primarily in the production of cotton, sugar, rice, corn, and tobacco. Their labor thus remained in essence the same; only their mode of hire had changed. In slavery their labor was forced; now they received a fixed compensation either in the form of monthly wages or a share of the crops. On the share crop basis the laborer usually received from one-fourth to one-third of the harvest.

Although the Negro farm laborers continued to show increases between 1890 and 1910 by the addition of 837,027 workers, there was evident among this group even before 1914 a tendency to forsake the farm for work in the mines, lumber camps, sawmills, and other industrial employments. This movement is borne out by a decline in the proportion of Negroes engaged as farm laborers from 41.5 per cent in 1890 to 37.4 per cent in 1910, a decline of 4.1 per cent. The proportion would have been considerably lower in 1910 had there not occurred an obvious overcount to the number of almost half a million Negro women and children.[8]

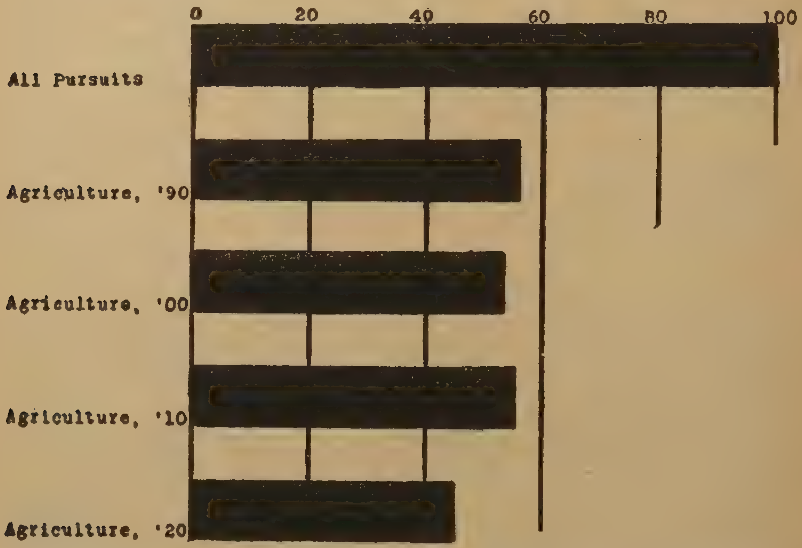

DIAGRAM 2.—DECLINE IN PROPORTION OF NEGROES ENGAGED IN AGRICULTURAL PURSUITS, 1890 TO 1920.

The movement of Negro laborers away from the farm may be ascribed to several causes. First, the Negroes persisted in their dislike for agricultural labor ordinarily and usually performed such work only because of the lack of other employment.[9] The work, moreover, was hard, the hours long, the wages poor, and in many instances the farm hands were brutally treated. In addition, many whites contrived through the medium of the contract labor system and the Negroes' ignorance to retain their hands virtually in a state of slavery by keeping them perennially in debt.

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[8] *Negro Population in the U. S. 1790-1915*, p. 526.

[9] Spahr, Charles, "The Negro as an Industrial Factor" in *The Outlook*, May, 1899, p. 35.

George K. Holmes noticed this condition in 1893,[10] and another, who has made several studies of the Negroes in the Black Belt, estimated that in 1912 not less than a quarter of a million black laborers were held to service on plantations by force in direct defiance of the laws.[11] It was from such conditions that the vast unorganized army of Negro farm workers tended to escape. Some continued to drift to the Southern towns where they engaged either in domestic service [12] or in industry; others welcomed an opportunity to take up lumbering, turpentine production, fishing, mining, or any other occupation except farming.[13]

Low wages paid on the plantations were another cause of the loss of Negroes to agriculture. Wages ranged from 30 to 75 cents a day during the regular season; at harvest time from 60 cents to $1.00 a day and board.[14] The meager wage scale had the effect of leaving this work more and more to Negroes because the whites were attracted by, and could enter, the more remunerative factory pursuits.[15] This inadequate compensation, likewise, tended to drive the Negroes from section to section in search of higher wages and finally away from the farm entirely. A contributor on the *Outlook* staff, who made several journeys throughout the South, said in 1899, "On some plantations the wage was 35 cents a day with rations." "Rations only cost about five cents per day," said the son of a plantation owner who remarked that his father was now paying 35 cents a day with rations.[16] The rations were one-half pound of bacon or salt pork and one-half gallon of corn meal a day.[17] This observer believed that in the majority of cases these small wages were about all the Southern farmer could then afford to pay.[18]

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[10] Holmes, George K., "Peons of the South" in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Sept., 1893, pp. 265-274.

[11] Dubois, W. E. B., "The Rural South" in *The American Statistical Association*, March 1912, p. 81.

[12] This was the first step in the migration of the Negroes to the North. The migration was not altogether a sudden movement.

[13] New York *Times*, Jan. 5, 1890; Kelsey, Carl, "Evolution of Negro Labor" in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, XXI, 1903, p. 65; *Political Science Quarterly*, XV, 1905, p. 279; *Independent*, May 30, 1907, pp. 1256-1258.

[14] Wages on the farm varied. In 1890 farm laborers in North Carolina were paid 30 cents a day.—New York *Times*, Jan. 5, 1890. In Maryland wages were commonly 50 cents a day.—U. S. Dept. of Labor, "Negroes of Sandy Spring, Md.," *Bulletin No. 32*, Jan., 1901, p. 75. Two years later another investigator reported wages ranging from 40 cents a day for women to 70 cents for men. Kelsey, *ut supra*, pp. 65-66. It was reported in 1902 that wages on the Louisiana sugar plantations varied from 75 cents a day during the cultivating season for men to 50 cents for women. During the harvesting and grinding season wages increased to $1.00 to $1.25 a day for men and women respectively.—U. S. Dept. of Labor, *Bulletin No. 38*, pp. 110-112. The same tendency obtained in the cotton and rice areas at harvest time. In the Mississippi Delta, according to A. H. Stone, Negroes received from 50 cents to 75 cents a day during the cultivating season, but rose to $1.00 to $1.25 during the picking season.—*Negro in the Yazoo Mississippi Delta*, p. 262. In Virginia in 1907 Negro farm hands received but 50 cents a day. *Proceedings of the Hampton Negro Conference*, July, 1907, p. 43.

[15] *Report of the U. S. Industrial Commission on Capital and Labor, 1900*, p. 65.

Dissatisfaction with the low remuneration of farm labor set in motion two streams of black peasants during these years. One stream advanced upon the towns in search of industrial employment, where they consequently glutted the labor market and reduced the small earnings of those already in such jobs.[19] Especially was this true after the cotton picking season when wages on the plantation tended to rise because of the demand for labor. Concerning this tendency a Negro teamster of Thomson, Georgia, told an observer in 1893, "We could get sixty cents a day right along if the town didn't fill up with farm hands as soon as cotton picking is over. Some of them will work for forty cents a day and lower yet." "Fifty cents a day," commented the investigator, "was this young man's standard of decent wages and he resented the idea of accepting less himself or having any of his fellows accept it." On the other hand, many farm hands could only earn such high wages during cotton picking time. "Then," continued the same observer, "they can get fifty cents a day and often their meals. But the season their work is needed is only about three months in the year. The remainder of the time they must pick up what they can.''[20] In Virginia Negro farm hands who in 1907 received fifty cents a day and board, flocked to the towns where they worked for $1.00 a day;[21] in Mississippi after cotton picking time the same tendency was evident.[22]

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[16] *Outlook*, May 6, 1899, p. 35.

[17] In addition to this fare some farmers added a few vegetables and a little molasses.

[18] *Outlook*, August 26, 1893, p. 387.

[19] For this reason there exists among urban Negroes to-day a sort of dislike for those from the rural districts.

Another stream of Negro farm hands migrated whenever the opportunity for increased wages presented itself. Since during the regular season wages were higher in Texas and Oklahoma, many of these laborers, chiefly from the Carolinas, flocked to the Southwest, leaving a serious shortage of farm labor in their wake. This exodus of farm laborers to the Southwest, moreover, was stimulated by labor agents from that section, who brought in Negroes of all sexes and ages in carload lots.[23]

A still further decrease in the Negro farm hands resulted from the migration of others during the late nineties and the beginning of the twentieth century. They were lured from the farm by the prospect of work in the newly opened iron and coal mines of the South, especially in Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee, and Virginia.[24] Others migrated to the rich coal fields of West Virginia,[25] Ohio,[26] Indiana,[27] Illinois,[28] and Pennsylvania.[29] In these Western mines the Negroes were taken into such jobs chiefly as strike breakers. This was the case especially in parts to the North when rustic Negroes were freely brought into mining communities as ''scabs.'' In this capacity in 1899 Negro farm laborers were taken from Alabama to work the mines of Southern Illinois and Indiana which had been closed because of strikes. In the same year Negroes were brought from the farms of Arkansas for a similar purpose.[30] Still other Negroes, especially women and girls, left the farms in desultory waves for work either as servants or as factory laborers in the North.[31]

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[20] *Outlook*, August 26, 1893, p. 387.

[21] From these towns they often went to the North or West on hearing of higher wages in those parts.

[22] New York *Times*, February 28, 1890.

[23] *Ibid.*, Jan. 5, 1890.

[24] Ralph, Julian, "Industries of Northern Alabama, Tennessee and Georgia" in *Harper's Magazine*, Vol. XC, p. 62; *The Tradesman*, Oct. 15, 1902.

[25] Dowd, Jerome, "Cheap Labor in the South" in *Gunton's Magazine*, Feb., 1900, p. 117; *The Negro Artisan, loc. cit.* (1902), p. 150.

[26] Because of well organized unions in Ohio and Indiana the Negro miners were later reaching those parts than in the case of West Virginia.

[27] *Independent*, July 1899, p. 1790.

[28] *The Nation*, Sept. 21, 1899, p. 216.

[29] McNeil, *The Labor Movement*, p. 260.

As a result of this migration there arose numerous complaints about the unreliability of Negro laborers,[32] and it seemed that they might be displaced by foreigners whom some planters began to import.[33] After unsuccessful experiments with Italians and Chinese, however,[34] the planters decided that the Negroes were the most efficient farm laborers available.[35]

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[30] *The Independent*, July 1899, p. 1780.

[31] Adger, Robert, "The Traveler in the South," *Gunton's Magazine*, December 1903, p. 524; *Proceedings of the Hampton Negro Conference*, July 1904, p. 43.

[32] This tendency of the Negro to leave the farms in search of more desirable employment was evident throughout this period by complaints about the shortage of farm hands. As early as 1896 W. Collier Estes said, "From the bottoms comes the general complaint of the great scarcity of hands. Yet the price of picking is as high as it was when the cotton was worth double. It takes almost 50 per cent of the value of a bale to pick it now."

"The great amount of levee building with good wages attracts some (Negroes); the outrageous tariff with which the roustabout can tax the steamboats in the fall leads others, and the increasing timber and manufacturing interests absorb others. The scarcity of labor is a serious problem for the cotton planter."—*The Nation*, Dec. 1, 1896, p. 591.

"The sudden decline in the condition of cotton during August not only gave the South much more money for the crop but was also fortunate because of the scarcity of labor. It would have been almost impossible to put out a crop because of the large absorption of labor by the iron fields, timber camps, levee works and manufacturing enterprises."—*Ibid.*, No. 1791, Oct., 1899.

"So acute became the labor situation on some of the plantations that it was reported in 1903 that old men, women and girls were the most steady workers." —Kelsey, Carl, "Evolution of Negro Labor," *loc. cit.*, p. 65.

Ernest Hamlin Abbott, who traveled through the South in 1904, studying the economic conditions among the Negroes, noticed that many of the planters were at their wit's end to secure Negro farm hands. A large planter said to him: "Labor conditions in the cotton fields are very trying. . . . Negroes won't stay and unless they can be induced to come back cotton planting cannot be maintained, for in the cotton fields the white man is not the equal of the Negro."—Abbott, Ernest Hamlin, "The South and the Negro," *Outlook*, July 9, 1904, p. 591.

"Many of the best Negro laborers have been called North as strikebreakers; others have deserted the fields for work in the mines and lumber camps or on the railroads; many have gone to the cities to earn a precarious living. Agricultural development in the black belt is at a standstill because of worthlessness of the black and the difficulty of getting more white labor."—Walter L. Fleming, "Immigration to the South" in *Political Science Quarterly*, XX, 1905, No. 2, p. 279.

"In 1912 the same tendency was evident, for it was reported: 'Already in the Carolina Sea Islands and the famous Black Belt of Alabama and Mississippi the dreaded scarcity of labor has become a reality. One planter near Charleston a year ago had thirty houses on his plantation each occupied by one or more Negro families, to-day but five of these houses are occupied at all and he doubts his ability to even fill these another year.' "Negroes in the Urban Movement," *Outlook*, June 29, 1912, p. 451.

Regardless of the efficiency of the Negro farm laborer, a proportional decrease between 1890 and 1910 stands out as significant. This decline is all the more important, for it not only shows the entry into other pursuits by the former farm workers but also manifests a relative decline in the female element of the Negro farm laborers. Despite the fact that the number of Negro women and girls in agriculture arose from 377,531 in 1890 to 970,060 in 1910, the actual proportion of such field workers declined during this period. Between 1890 and 1900 the proportion fell from 43.2 per cent to 38.7 per cent and would have been reported much smaller had there not been an acknowledged overcount in the number of Negro women agricultural workers.

The decrease in the proportion of Negro women and children as farm laborers had its beginning in Emancipation when to a considerable extent they were withdrawn from the fields. After Emancipation the freed women looked upon agricultural labor as unbecoming in their new status and generally refused to perform farm work, while the Negro men, imitating the whites, tended to limit their wives and daughters to the sphere of the home.[36] At harvest time, when wages were unusually high, however, many women and children, otherwise occupied in the home or at school, would work in the fields.[37] The children, who prior to Emancipation constituted a reliable labor supply especially on the cotton plantations, were later reported in other spheres of action.[38] It was largely this withdrawal of some Negro women and children from the fields which caused the general belief among the whites that the Negro was not working as steadily after Emancipation as in slavery.

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[33] Chinese and Filipinos were imported into the rice fields in 1900. They were said to have made good laborers.—Mount, Mary Wilkinson, "Cheap Labor in the South" in *Gunton's Magazine*, Nov., 1900, p. 488; Italians were imported into the sugar fields of Louisiana between 1896-1901.—U. S. Bureau of Labor, *Bulletin No. 38*, Jan., 1902, p. 113. They were reported to have grown a larger crop of cotton than Negroes on an Arkansas farm in 1906.—*The Nation*, Feb. 1, 1906, p. 97.

[34] This was due to two causes: first, the tendency of these workers to avoid competition with cheap Negro labor; and secondly, the knowledge that these foreign workers were held in a state of peonage on the plantations which caused the Italian government especially to take steps to prevent the emigration of its subjects to these states.—U. S. Department of Commerce and Labor, *Introduction of Foreign Laborers by South Carolina*, 1907, *passim; The Nation*, Dec. 19, 1907.

[35] *North American Review*, April 1890, pp. 441-442; and *The Nation*, August 2, 1906, p. 90.

[36] This matter has already been dealt with elsewhere in this treatise and will be mentioned again.

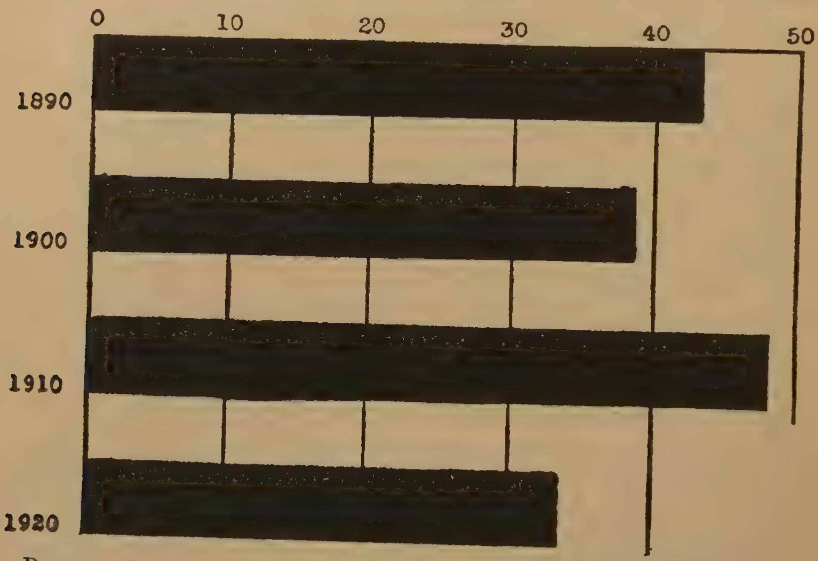

DIAGRAM 3.—DECLINE IN PROPORTION OF NEGRO FEMALE LABORERS IN AGRICULTURE, 1890 TO 1920.

Negro women, however, still comprised almost three out of every five females in agriculture. This was due chiefly to the low earning power of the Negro men and to the exclusion of the Negro women from other pursuits. Some Negro women had to work to help take care of their families. In 1890 almost ninety-seven per cent of all Negro women workers were farm laborers, servants, or laundresses. This proportion remained virtually unaltered up to 1910, or even until 1914.[39] Many of them, however, worked in the fields regularly. Referring thus to the farm laborers in the Black Belt in 1899, an investigator said, "The workers are farm hands, women and girls as well as men being employed in the fields. Children as young as six are given light tasks, such as dropping seed or bringing water. The families rise early, often before daylight, working until breakfast time and then returning after the meal." [40] Up to the World War, however, there was evident a tendency of all women to withdraw from farm labor. While the Negro women were the last to be thus moved, they finally showed the same trend.[41]

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[37] U. S. Department of Labor, *Bulletin No. 32*, Jan., 1901, p. 75; *Bulletin No. 38*, pp. 110-112.

[38] It was generally conceded that the Negroes were much more anxious to attend school than were the poor whites.

Although the Negro farmhands were gravitating toward factory labor or the industrial pursuits between 1890 and the World War, the Negro farm operators, on the contrary, presented a steady increase during this period. In 1890 there were 590,666 Negro farmers, according to the report of the United States Census on occupations for that year. By 1910, this number had increased to 879,600, which showed that during a fifth of a century the Negro farmers had increased by 288,934 or almost 50 per cent as shown by official report.

These Negro farmers were not all owners of the farms which they operated. According to the report, they consisted of two classes—farm owners and tenant farmers. Both of these classes increased between 1890 and 1910. The number of Negro farm owners, however, increased during the period at a faster rate than that of the Negro tenants. The Negro owners of farms increased from 120,738 [42] in 1890 to 218,972 by 1910, a gain of 98,234 or 81.3 per cent. The increase in the number of Negro independent farmers, moreover, represents the highest point of agricultural evolution for the old Negro farmhands. The accessions to this class came in the main from the farm laboring group as demonstrated above. The rise of the farm laborers into the independent farm ownership group may be the result either of the direct transformation of the field worker into a farm owner or the evolution of the farm laborer into the tenant farmer class.[43] Then after having set aside sufficient savings, he thereupon takes the next step higher, namely, into the independent farmer class.

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[39] Ninety-six and nine-tenths per cent in 1890 and ninety-six per cent in 1910.—See the U. S. *Census Reports* for these years.

[40] U. S. Bureau of Labor, *Bulletin No. 22*, May 1899, p. 402; Kelsey, "Evolution of Negro Labor," *loc. cit.*, pp. 65, 66.

[41] *Negro Population in the U. S., 1790-1915*, p. 526.

[42] Gannett, *Occupations of the Negroes in 1890*, p. 15.

In this manner the United States Census Bureau likewise accounts in part for this rise of the Negro farm owner. The report says, "It may fairly be assumed that these increases largely represent in one case the advance of tenant farmers into the class of farm owners, and in the other the advance of farm laborers into the class of tenant farmers."[44] Concerning this tendency, Hollis B. Frissell, once principal of Hampton Institute, asserted in 1912 that the Negroes were largely buying the land they had long occupied as renters.[45] Sometimes this intermediate step was omitted and the thrifty farm laborer thus invested his savings in land to join the ranks of the farm owners.

The transformation of the farm laborer into an independent farmer, moreover, was often made possible by their children who left the South for work in the North and sent their parents sufficient money to purchase a farm. Speaking of this tendency, B. B. Ellets says, "I lived several years in Virginia and studied the 'black Americans' with much perplexity and had a great desire to help them. I found that those who went North year after year and worked either sent money to their parents or bought farms and had them improved and cultivated them under the best Northern method under great limitations."[46] One of the authors was well acquainted with many persons in Connecticut who regularly sent money to Virginia and North Carolina to aid in buying farms for their families. He can recall also writing letters to wives in the South, whose husbands sent them money to keep up the payments on such lands.

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[43] The task was always difficult, but the Negro laborer often contrived to improve his condition.

[44] *Negro Population in the U. S., 1790-1915*, p. 571.

[45] He had in mind not only Virginia but other parts which he had surveyed.

[46] *Nation*, May 19, 1892, p. 378.

Accession to the farm ownership group by coöperative buying continued as an important factor. Thus, according to the author of a survey of the Negro landholders of Georgia in 1901, "At Woodville, Ogeechee and Belmont (in Liberty County) colonies of Negroes united and bought land and nearly 50,000 acres belong to them."[47] Still other accessions to the Negro farm owner group came from persons not belonging originally to the farmer class. Sometimes urban Negroes who had saved money either as servants, laborers, or mechanics, invested such earnings in farms. In this case it was not uncommon, especially in the Piedmont districts, to see Negro mechanics owning well-kept farms which were cared for chiefly by their wives and families while the skilled workers plied their trades.[48]

Besides the additions to the farm owner group from tenant farmers and field hands, other factors influenced the increase of this class. Chief among these was the developing industries of the South, especially iron and textile manufacturing. Lured by work, chiefly in the cotton factories of the South, a considerable number of whites, unable to compete with the Negroes in the rural districts, migrated to the towns.[49] Some often sold their farms to Negroes; others left their lands lying idle, all to be bought up later by thrifty blacks.[50] Still other rural whites, attracted by unusual business opportunities in the towns, or desiring the larger life of urban communities, also migrated from the farm, leaving the land which the blacks eagerly purchased.[51] Further accessions to the Negro farm owner group were expedited by others buying up much of the well nigh exhausted tobacco and cotton land which attracted them because of its cheapness but which on account of its unfertility subsequently retarded their advance as producers.[52]

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[47] U. S. Bureau of Labor, *Bulletin No. 35*, 1901, p. 735.

[48] This was in keeping with the well established rule in the South that although a man might have some other interests he usually had a farm which required some of his attention.

[49] *Literary Digest*, March 21, 1896, pp. 27-30; Kohn, *Cotton Mills of South Carolina;* Mitchell, *Rise of the Cotton Mills in the South*, Chapter III.

[50] *Literary Digest*, Dec., 1910, p. 764.

TABLE 26.—DECREASE IN AVERAGE SIZE OF FARMS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1850-1900

	1900	*1890*	*1880*	*1870*	*1860*	*1850*
North Atlantic......	96.5	95.3	95.7	104.3	108.1	112.6
South Atlantic......	108.4	133.6	157.4	241.1	357.2	376.4
North Central.......	144.5	133.4	121.9	123.7	139.7	143.3
South Central.......	155.4	144.0	150.6	194.4	321.3	291.0
Western	386.1	324.1	312.9	336.4	366.9	694.9

Another factor making for the increase in the acreage of Negro farm owners was the efforts put forth by schools and individuals. The purpose was to show the Negro farm workers that it was to their best interest to remain on the farm; and, more important, to own the land they cultivated.[53] Farmers' conferences held at Tuskegee and Hampton and the State and Land Grant schools emphasized this need, and such preachments from year to year brought desirable results. The farm ownership movement, sponsored by race leaders, moreover, added impetus to what was emphasized as a timely step.

Efforts were likewise made to check the Negro exodus to the North through stimulating this movement. As a result a series of Negro coöperative societies sprang up at certain points in the South and bought large holdings

[51] Glasson, William H., "Rural Conditions in the South" in *The American Statistical Association*, XIII, March 1912, p. 77.

[52] This situation with respect to Virginia has been discussed in extenso by Dr. James S. Russell in his "Rural Economic Progress of the Negroes in Virginia." The facts were set forth in an address at the annual meeting of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History at Petersburg in 1926, but the data were verified by comparison with the reports of the United States Bureau of the Census before the article was finally published.—*Journal of Negro History*, XI, 556-562.

[53] *Proceedings of the Hampton Negro Conference*, 1907, p. 95; *Outlook*, March 14, 1904, p. 671.

which they parceled out to the Negroes. Speaking of this development in 1902 as it affected the Negroes in Alabama, Booker T. Washington said, "A company has bought four thousand acres to sell in small tracts, and forty-five Negro families have already settled on it. In an adjoining county a similar movement is going on. In another, two large plantations have been bought and paid for in the last two years by a Negro stock company. In Mississippi, also, the current is setting in the same direction." [54] In Georgia in 1901 a similar movement was in progress.[55] The Negro Im-

TABLE 27.—ACREAGE, INCREASE IN FARM ACREAGE, AND AVERAGE ACREAGE, BY COLORED FARMERS IN THE SOUTH, 1900-1910

Division and Tenure	Acres in Farms				
	Total		Improved		Increase:
	1910	1900	1910	1900	Total
The South Colored operators					
Total	42,609,117	38,612,046	27,735,743	23,214,607	3,997,071
Owners	12,847,348	11,512,424	5,898,565	5,030,912	1,334,924
Part owners	2,844,188	1,846,260	1,632,554	995,893	997,928
Cash tenants	12,876,308	13,042,374	9,218,158	8,540,633	— 166,066
Share tenants	13,691,494	11,782,470	10,878,217	8,519,427	1,909,024
Managers	349,779	428,518	108,249	127,742	— 78,739

Division and Tenure				Average Acres Per Farm			
	1900-1910	Percentage improved		Total		Improved	
	Improved	1910	1900	1910	1900	1910	1900
The South Colored operators							
Total	4,521,136	65.1	60.1	47.9	52.1	31.2	31.3
Owners	867,653	45.9	43.7	73.3	72.6	33.6	31.7
Part owners	636,661	57.4	53.9	65.9	65.5	37.8	35.3
Cash tenants ...	677,525	71.6	65.5	45.0	48.0	32.2	31.4
Share tenants ...	2,358,790	79.5	72.3	35.6	40.0	28.3	30.4
Managers	— 19,493	30.9	29.8	291.5	269.0	90.2	80.2

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[54] *The Outlook*, March 1, 1902, p. 506.

[55] U. S. Dept. of Labor, *Bulletin No. 35*, 1901, p. 735.

provement Society of Texas in 1900, according to Carl Kelsey, had 3,000 members, owned 50,000 acres of land and 7,000 head of cattle.[56] In Virginia, under the direction of the Negro Farmers Conference, a rapid acquisition of land by Negro farmers took place so that as early as 1901 it was said that the Negroes in Charles City County owned one-sixth of the land, in Prince George County one-sixth, and in

TABLE 28.—PERCENTAGE OF IMPROVED LANDS ON NEGRO AND WHITE FARMS IN 1910

Division and State	Percentage Improved, 1910		Average Number of Acres Improved per Farm, 1910	
	Of land in Negro farms	Of land in white farms	Negro farms	White farms
United States	65.9	54.0	31.2	82.6
The South	65.8	39.4	30.8	55.7
South Atlantic	62.2	43.5	30.9	49.6
East South Central	70.3	50.6	29.4	47.9
West South Central	66.0	32.4	33.1	69.6
The North	71.2	70.3	72.1	100.6
The West	44.5	34.3	116.8	104.1
The South				
South Atlantic:				
Delaware	65.0	68.9	40.2	68.2
Maryland	61.0	66.7	34.3	73.7
District of Columbia	100.0	84.4	7.9	24.6
Virginia	49.7	50.8	23.1	64.4
West Virginia	58.6	55.1	28.6	57.3
North Carolina	54.5	36.8	26.4	37.7
South Carolina	65.9	36.6	26.8	43.9
Georgia	67.6	37.8	39.1	44.6
Florida	62.8	29.5	32.8	37.5
East South Central:				
Kentucky	78.0	64.4	29.3	56.6
Tennessee	72.4	52.8	30.3	46.8
Alabama	70.1	39.2	32.3	40.2
Mississippi	79.5	37.4	27.2	41.2
West South Central:				
Arkansas	66.8	42.7	27.9	41.7
Louisiana	69.1	45.8	26.7	58.0
Oklahoma	62.3	61.6	50.3	96.6
Texas	64.8	22.7	39.6	70.7

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[56] *Annals*, Jan., 1903, p. 76.

Sussex County a little less than one-half.[57] This tendency was still evident in 1912.[58]

Thus as a result of these influences Negroes, who were virtually landless at Emancipation, owned 12,847,348 acres of land in 1910. This not only denoted considerable progress but showed an actual increase of 1,334,924 acres since 1900 when 11,512,424 were reported.[59]

This land which the Negroes either owned outright or were in the act of buying, had a total valuation of $620,587,241 in 1910. This valuation lay mainly in land, for buildings and implements on Negro farms had little comparative value. No comparison is possible with 1900 or 1890 for the entire data were not available.[59a]

TABLE 29.—AVERAGE VALUE A FARM OF NEGRO FARM PROPERTY, 1900-1910

Class of Farm Property	Average Value Per Farm of Farm Property on Farms Operated by Negroes			
	1910	1900	Increase, 1900-1910	
			Amount	Per Cent
Total	$1,278	$669	$609	91.0
Land	846	434	412	94.9
Buildings	187	96	91	94.8
Implements	38	25	13	52.0
Live stock	207	114	93	81.6

Negro farms were generally much smaller than those of whites. The average acreage of a Negro farm in the South in 1910 was 47.9 acres; for the whites the average acreage was 141.3 acres.[60] Nearly all these farmers were in the South. Out of a total of 819,600 Negro farmers 12,534 or

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[57] *Colored American Magazine*, February, 1901, pp. 280-281.

[58] "Rural Life in the South" in *The American Statistical Association*, XIII, 1912, pp. 73-74.

[59] *Negro Population in the U. S. 1790-1915*, p. 577. The total acreage under Negro control, that is, as renter, tenants, and owners in 1900 was 42,279,510, an increase of 4,045,500 acres over 1900.

[59a] For other details see *Negro Population in the United States, 1790-1915*, p. 559.

[60] *Ibid.*, pp. 571, 577.

1.4 per cent were in the North and West in 1910, while 867,066 or 98.6 per cent were in the South. Of the 218,972 Negro farm owners in 1910, only 7,885 or about 3 per cent were in the North and West.

TABLE 30.—INCREASE OF NEGRO FARMERS IN EACH TENURE CLASS, 1900-1910

Tenure	Negro Farm Operators				
	1910	1900	Increase 1900-1910	Percentage distribution by tenure	
				1910	1900
	United States				
Total	893,370	746,715	146,655	100.0	100.0
Owners	218,972	187,797	31,175	24.5	25.1
Tenants	672,964	557,174	115,790	75.3	74.6
Managers	1,434	1,744	*—310	0.2	0.2
	The South				
Total	880,836	732,362	148,474	100.0	100.0
Owners	211,087	179,418	31,669	24.0	24.5
Tenants	668,559	551,383	117,176	75.9	75.3
Managers	1,190	1,561	—371	0.1	0.2
	The North				
Total	12,052	14,016	—1,964	100.0	100.0
Owners	7,498	8,122	—624	62.2	57.9
Tenants	4,330	5,718	—1,388	35.9	40.8
Managers	224	176	48	1.9	1.3
	The West				
Total	482	337	145	100.0	100.0
Owners	387	257	130	80.3	76.3
Tenants	75	73	2	15.6	21.7
Managers	20	7	13	4.1	2.1

* A minus sign (—) denotes decrease.

Despite the progress shown by the Negro farmers during this period they were still handicapped by general ignorance of scientific farming methods, wastefulness, carelessness, and lack of capital. They were compelled, therefore, to accept crop liens which kept them heavily in debt. Almost one-third of the Negro farm owners in 1910 owed mortgages of $16,953,463 on property worth $59,865,633.

The crop lien system, moreover, still continued to fasten the one crop system, chiefly cotton, upon the Negro farmers. This prevented the diversification of agriculture and retarded the advance of the Negroes by forcing them to purchase supplies for their families and animals which they could easily have raised themselves.[61] Thus the Negro farmers in the South were preëminently cotton planters. It was the purpose of industrial schools to change this tendency not only through instruction in the schools, but also by farmers' conferences and the distribution of literature. Efforts were made to introduce coöperative buying of supplies and marketing of produce, the raising of livestock, and the beautifying of the farm home in order to make it more attractive to the young people and thereby keep them from drifting to the cities.[62]

Another factor which served to retard the increase of the Negro farm owners was the refusal of the whites in certain parts of the South to sell the Negroes land. Many of these Southerners, as late as 1914, while conceding the fact that the betterment of the Negro farmers as such was imperative, did not enjoy the prospect of increased land-buying by Negroes.[63] These persons, therefore, would retain the Negroes in a state of serfdom by renting them the land for a number of years. On the whole, however, the movement was ineffectual for the better thinking whites encouraged the Negro farmers to acquire the land they cultivated.

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[61] For further discussion of these facts see the dissertation by W. E. B. Dubois, entitled "The Negro Farm Owner," *The Bureau of the Census, Bulletin No. 8*, p. 81; and Kelsey, "The Negro Farmer" in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Sept., 1893, p. 226.

[62] For further treatment of these topics see *The Outlook*, Vol. XX, 1897, p. 783; *Colored American Magazine*, April 1905, p. 200; Washington, Booker T., *Working With the Hands, passim;* and *Proceedings of the Hampton Negro Conference*, July 1909, p. 54.

[63] *The Outlook*, May 23, 1914, pp. 153-154.

Below the Negro farm owners was the mass of Negro tenant farmers. This group consisted of 469,928 tenants in 1890, being at that time almost four-fifths (79.6 per cent) of all Negro farm operators. Although they increased at a slower rate than that of the Negro farm owners between 1890 and 1910, they still constituted three-fourths (75.3 per cent) of all the Negro farmers at the close of this period. As a result in 1910, according to the United States Census reports on occupations, there were 672,964 Negro tenant farmers. This class showed a slower relative increase during this period than the Negro farm owner, advancing by 203,036 or 43.4 per cent.

Highest in economic status among the tenant farmers were the cash renters who operated 260,966 or 29.3 per cent of all Negro farms in 1910. Their status was comparable to that of the Negro farm owners, for they paid a fixed rental, either in money or crops.[64] The increase in the Negro cash tenants resulted in various ways. First, there was the tendency of the Negro share tenants to evolve into the cash tenant class through the medium of a good crop, the sale of which enabled them to secure sufficient funds to rent land.[65] Sometimes thrifty and enterprising farm laborers invested their earnings in the renting of a farm, with the hope of buying the land they cultivated. Speaking of this tendency among the Negro farm laborers in Mississippi where extra hands were brought into the cotton fields as pickers in the fall, A. H. Stone said, "Of the great number of Negroes thus brought yearly into the delta many remain to make crops themselves."[66] Carl Kelsey mentioned a family of unfortunate Negroes who came into the delta region in 1901 penniless. Getting a start in this manner, they rented land; and within three years, in 1904, they had paid all their debts and had to their credit a cash balance of $250.00.[67]

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[64] *Negro Population in the U. S., 1790-1915;* Dubois, "The Negro Farm Owner" in the *Bureau of the Census Bulletin, No. 8,* p. 81.

[65] Stone, A. H., *The Negro in the Yazoo, Mississippi Delta,* p. 255.

[66] *Ibid,* p. 255.

Another impetus to cash tenant farming by Negroes was the continued splitting up of the large plantations by impoverished white farmers who rented these in parcels to the Negroes at comparatively low rates. Speaking of such, Samuel J. B. Barrows, who traveled through this section in 1891, said, "Through the Black Belt and adjacent country land has been cut up and rented to Negroes on one-mule farms of from twenty-five to thirty acres each." As land was cheap the Negroes were enabled to rent these farms readily. According to Barrows, the occupants of a twenty-five or thirty acre farm paid from two to five dollars an acre rent.[68]

The increase in the Negro farm tenants, moreover, came about in some cases by the very ability of the Negroes to defeat the whites in the competition for the rental of the best land. Inasmuch as the Negroes did most of the work for which the whites hired labor, the Negro farmers could pay higher rent and still have an apparently marginal profit. The Negroes, who were able to pay more for the rental of land in South Carolina because their standard of living was lower than the whites, were pushing the latter out of the most productive land. The whites resented this, and in order to stop it resorted to violence.[69]

A much smaller group of Negro farmers were cash-share tenants. These paid a certain specified sum of money for a portion of rented land and a share of the crop for another portion. A step below the Negro cash tenants came the largest group of Negro farm operators—the share tenants. There are varying degrees of share tenancy, but the most common procedure was to rent the Negro forty or fifty acres of land, the landlord taking a part of the crop as rent. The share of the crop taken depended upon what the laborer furnished. If the tenant gave nothing but his labor, the landlord received two-thirds of the crop; if he fed himself the landlord received one-half of it; if the laborer also furnished implements and work animals, the landlord received from one-third to one-fourth. Of course, the fertility of the soil, the locality, and the character of the contracting parties all influenced such details.[70]

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[67] *Annals*, 1903, p. 66.
[68] *Literary Digest*, June 1891, p. 230.
[69] *The Nation*, August 31, 1899.

Up to 1910 the Negro share tenants constituted an increasingly large number of Negro farm operators. From 280,699 share tenants in 1900 by 1910 this number had increased to 384,524. Thus within these years 103,825 farmers had been added to the Negro share tenant group. This was an increase of 37 per cent and was larger than that of any other class of Negro farmers.[71]

The reasons for the increase in the share tenant farmers may be ascribed to several causes. First, as already pointed out, was the general desire among the Negroes after Emancipation to own land, and the cultivation of a plot of ground as share tenant was the first step in that direction.[72] In most cases, moreover, the Negroes did not need capital, for they paid their rent in a share of the crops. The restlessness of Negro farm hands already mentioned above, and their inclination to seek other employment than farm labor whenever the opportunity arose, caused the landlord to look with favor upon tenant farming, since it assured him a greater permanency of labor. Tenant farming, moreover, did not always give the operator an interest in the land which many Negroes desired,[73] but it was easy for the share tenants, with a good season and under sympathetic landlords, to rise into the class of cash tenants and thence into the ranks of farm owners.

The rise of these tenant farmers into the farm owner class was both facilitated and impeded by the crop lien system. This system, as previously stated, furnished under ordinary circumstances a ready avenue for the penniless but ambitious Negro farm hands to evolve into farm owners by advancing them money until their crops were harvested and sold.[74] In the hands of unscrupulous money lenders, however, the ignorant and shiftless Negro tenants were usually left in debt. The unprofitable tenants having nothing were advanced, either by the storekeeper or cotton factory, certain sums of money necessary to purchase supplies for their farm and food for their families until their crops were harvested. They, then, actually mortgaged their crops to the storekeeper for the means of subsistence, sometimes paying twenty or twenty-five per cent for this service.[75]

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[70] "The Negro Farm Owner" in *The U. S. Bulletin No. 8*, pp. 80-81.
[71] *Negro Population in the U. S., 1790-1915*, p. 609.
[72] Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 158.
[73] *Ibid.*, p. 158.

In contrast to the increase of Negro farmers between 1890 and the World War, Negro farm managers tended to decline during this period. Whereas there were 1,744 Negro farm managers in 1900, by 1914 the number had diminished to 1,434, a loss of 310 or 21.6 per cent.[76] The reduction in the numbers of this class cannot be ascribed wholly to inefficiency, for it was said that the Negro managers kept the tenants better satisfied than the average white manager and also served to minimize the tendency of race friction on the plantation.[77] An observer commenting upon the efficiency of the Negro farm manager remarked, "On the largest plantation I visited I was glad to find that the foreman was a Negro and a most successful manager in every part of the work—even when his employer hired convict labor to supplement that of his regular tenants and hands."[78]

The chief cause for this diminution in the ranks of farm managers, however, according to others, was the unwillingness of Negro workers to take orders from a foreman of their own race. This complex harkened back to slavery and became intensified by jealousy of the workers because of the exalted position held by one of their own group. This attitude of his subordinates tended to make the Negro foreman a strict disciplinarian in order to enforce obedience. As a result he was usually characterized as the harshest and most brutal of bosses.[79]

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[74] *Annals*, 1903, p. 267.

[75] *Literary Digest*, June 27, 1891, p. 230.

[76] *Negro Population in the U. S., 1790-1915*, p. 572.

[77] *The Outlook*, Nov. 30, 1901, p. 817.

[78] Spahr, "The Negro as an Industrial Factor" in *The Outlook*, Vol. LXII, p. 34.

Like farm managers, the number of Negroes engaged in the higher forms of agriculture, such as dairying, stock-raising, fruit growing and horticulture, were relatively unimportant up to 1910, showing little or no change.[80] In a few isolated communities dairying constituted a small interest among Negro farmers. In others this work gave a small number of laborers employment,[81] but between 1890 and the World War the number tended to decrease. This may be attributed chiefly to the lack of diversity of agriculture among Negroes, in particular, and Southern farmers in general. Mixed farming among Negroes was impeded to a large extent by the crop lien system which, as mentioned elsewhere, was largely responsible for saddling the one crop system upon the South. Since most of the Negro farmers were tenants, and cotton, because of its imperishable nature, is not only the most marketable crop but also the staple most easily produced by Negro labor, the factor usually demanded that this crop be raised, the desires of the tenants to the contrary notwithstanding.[82]

Virtually the same reasons for the decreasing dairymen during the period will serve to explain the small number of Negro gardeners, florists and nurserymen. These crops, because of their uncertain nature due to possible injury by frost or high winds, neither commend themselves to a tenant class of farmers who depend upon their yearly crop to pay their expenses, nor to the money lender who is equally dependent upon the tenants' cotton crop for the repayment of his loan.

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[79] *Harper's Magazine*, Vol. XC, p. 612.

[80] See Table 50.

[81] "The largest operator among them pays a cash rent of $200 a year. He owns a large road wagon and a four-horse team. . . . He employs two farm hands regularly and owns and milks about 25 cows, selling the milk in the neighborhood for export."—U. S. Bureau of Labor, "Negroes of Sandy Spring, Md.," *Bulletin No. 52*, p. 7.

[82] Holmes, George K., "The Peons of the South," *Annals of the American Academy of Political Science*, Sept., 1893, pp. 266-267.

In contrast to the small numbers of Negroes engaged in dairying and stockraising a much larger number found employment as lumbermen, raftsmen and woodchoppers. These workers increased more than a hundred per cent during this period. Whereas only 11,418 Negroes were employed in the lumbering industry in 1890, by 1910 this number had increased to 23,034. This was a gain of 11,616 workers or 101.7 per cent.[83] The large increases in the number of Negro lumbermen, raftsmen, and woodchoppers during this period may be attributed mainly to the development of the large lumber industry of the South.[84] This industry will be discussed at greater length below. The Negroes, moreover, were eager to escape from farm labor; and, usually offered much higher wages as woodchoppers than as farmhands, a considerable number forsook the land for this work.[85] A few Negroes were also engaged in the lumber business on their own account.[86]

In like manner the Negroes employed in the turpentine industry, which was closely allied to lumbering, increased at approximately the same rate as the Negro lumbermen. The turpentine industry, long associated with North Carolina, had subsequently moved southward into South Carolina, Georgia and Florida. In this industry Negro men and boys were the chief laborers. The higher wages paid and the opportunity of moving from place to place attracted farmhands to the turpentine camps [87] so that the number more than doubled between 1890 and 1910, increasing from

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[83] See *Negro Population in the United States, 1790-1915*, p. 526.

[84] U. S. Dept. of Labor, *Bulletin No. 38*, Jan., 1902, p. 160; *The Nation*, Dec. 1, 1896, p. 409; *Southern Industries Magazine*, May to July 1882, *passim; Savannah, Her Trade, Commerce and Industries*, 1883, 1884, p. 20; *Dixie Magazine*, July, 1889; *The Chattanooga Tradesman*, 1891, 1893, 1902, *passim*.

[85] As farmers did not always prosper they found it difficult to meet such competition.

[86] *Colored American Magazine*, March 1905, p. 160.

[87] In such industry, however, the Negro laborers tended to go downward rather than upward because of the migratory tendencies thereby developed.

12,034 in 1890 to 24,630 in 1910, a gain of 12,596 or 104.6 per cent.[88] The Negroes made excellent turpentine laborers, according to the testimony of most of their employers. The men attained considerable skill in cutting centers in the trees to catch the gum while boys were used to rake up the gum spilled on the ground.

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[88] See *Negro Population in the United States, 1790-1915*, p. 526.

CHAPTER V

DOMESTIC AND PERSONAL SERVICE UP TO 1917

After the recovery of the South from its devastation and the beginning of a new industrial development in the North, domestic and personal service became an occupation of increasing importance to Negroes. In 1890, therefore, according to the United States Census, the second largest group of Negroes still remained thus engaged. Out of a total of 3,992,337 Negro workers in 1900, 1,317,859 or 33.0 per cent of them were employed in domestic and personal service. This marked an increase of 361,105 or 37.7 per cent beyond that of 1890 when 956,754 were so employed.[1] Incidentally no other group in the American population showed so large a proportion of its members in such menial employment.[2] The large percentage of all Negroes thus engaged is significant commentary upon the restriction of Negroes to agricultural and domestic service. In these two lines in 1900, 86.7 per cent of all Negroes at work were so employed. Yet the Negroes, like the entire American working population, were continuing to show a definite trend from farm occupations between 1890 and 1900. For the Negroes, however, this movement had for its end largely domestic or personal service. On the other hand, the smaller percentage of whites in these occupations may be traceable to the unlimited opportunities for this element in the higher pursuits.

Peculiarly enough, Negro males increased faster than their women in the domestic service employments.[3] The reasons for this may be ascribed to the fact that the Negro men, who were the chief breadwinners, were being restricted more and more to menial service as they left the farm for the city.[4] By the keen competition for jobs they were also being forced from skilled occupations down into domestic pursuits.[5] In addition, the fact that Negro husbands tended to withdraw their wives and daughters from work outside of the home may also have exerted some influence.[6]

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[1] U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Negro Population in the U. S., 1790-1915*, p. 526.

[2] The foreign white group stood next with a percentage of 26.1 per cent of its members so engaged, followed by the native whites of foreign parents and the native whites of native parents with 17.2 and 11.4 per cent respectively.

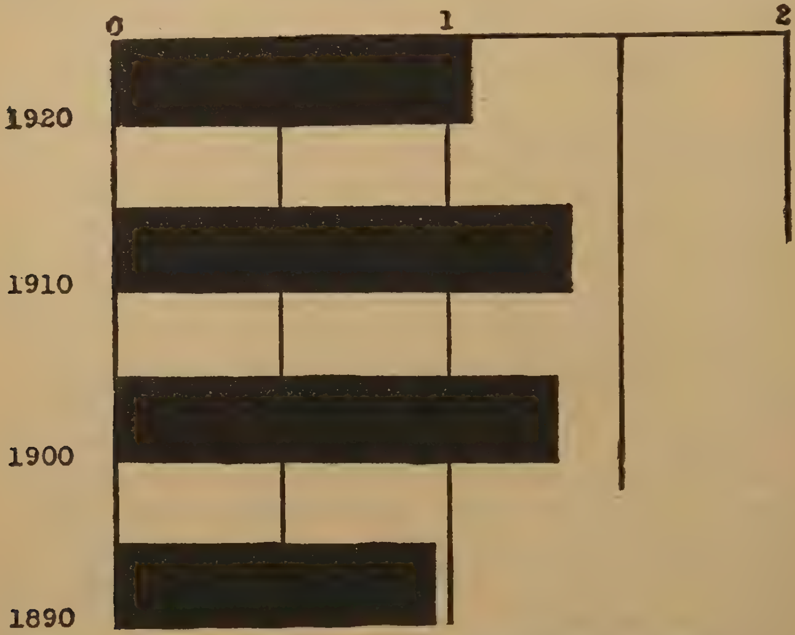

DIAGRAM 4.—INCREASE AND DECREASE OF NEGROES IN DOMESTIC AND PERSONAL SERVICE, BY HALF MILLIONS, 1890 TO 1920.

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[3] Thus while 450,765 males were engaged in domestic and personal service in 1890, by 1900 this number had grown to 635,933, a gain of 41.0 per cent. On the other hand, the Negro females increased from 505,989 in 1900 to 681,926, a numerical accession of 175,937 members or 37.9 per cent. This was a somewhat smaller gain by 3.1 per cent less than that of the males. *Special Census Report on Occupations*, 1900; Negro Population, *ut supra*.

[4] While these Negroes disliked these occupations they liked the city too much to stay away or to leave.

[5] *Forum*, XXVI, pp. 436-437.

[6] U. S. Dept. of Labor, *Bulletin No. 22*, pp. 77-78; *Gunton's Magazine*, X, Jan., 1896, pp. 55-56.

When the Negro women did work they were virtually restricted to two occupations, agricultural labor or domestic service. The economic proscription of the Negro women workers is demonstrated by the fact that in 1900 out of every 100 Negro women and girls working for wages, 96 were either field workers, house servants, waitresses, or laundresses.[7]

It is also interesting to note that domestic and personal service constituted an increasing field of employment for the Northern and Western Negroes, even as farm work did for the Southern Negroes.[8] This was the result of the greater difficulty experienced by Negroes in finding desirable employment in these two sections. In the North, although the Negroes were rapidly becoming mainly urban dwellers,[9] and in spite of their highly industrialized environment, they experienced extreme difficulty in securing work in the factories.[10] This was due largely to the fact that whites, especially foreigners, did most of the unskilled labor which the Negroes were best fitted to perform.[11] Other retarding influences were the disinclination of most employers to hire Negroes, the refusal of white laborers to work with them, and the hostility of Northern trade unions. As a result of this opposition Northern Negroes were forced to enter domestic service or starve.[12] The proscription in occupations where Negroes were concerned was made even more patent by the fact that in the

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[7] This exceeded the concentration in these two occupations for both sexes and for the Negro males, according to the figures set forth in the *Special Census Reports on Occupations*, 1900, p. CV.

[8] In the North the majority of the Negroes were engaged in domestic and personal service in 1890 as was the case in 1900. In the South a smaller proportion toiled in domestic service but a decidedly larger number than in the North.—U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Special Census Reports on Occupations*, 1890 and 1900.

[9] In 1890 almost two-thirds of the Negroes in the North lived in urban communities. By 1900 the number had grown beyond that point. In the South the opposite obtained, for about four-fifths of the Negroes were rural in 1890 and the number increased a little more by 1900.—U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Negro Population*, etc.

[10] *Nineteenth Century Magazine*, Vol. XLVI, p. 970; *Springfield Weekly Republican*, Feb. 10, 1905. See Chapter VI.

[11] *Reports of the U. S. Immigration Commission*, Vol. VIII, p. 601; Jenks and Lauck, *The Immigration Problem*, Chapter XI.

[12] *Gunton's Magazine*, Jan., 1896, pp. 55-56.

Northern and Western Divisions Negro men in domestic and personal service outnumbered the women, whereas in the South, where greater diversity of employment for Negro men obtained, the number of women domestic workers exceeded the men.[13]

The increase of such Negro servants was brought about by several peculiar factors. The advance in Negro domestic workers in the South may be partly ascribed to the tendency of thousands of young Negro men and women to leave the rural districts for the better wages and attractions of the towns.[14] These people were perhaps as much attracted by the allurements of town life as they were anxious to escape the severe work on the farm. These migrants first went to the smaller towns. There they tended to displace the original workers, who in time were forced to move on to the large cities or migrate to the North.

Giving specific instances of this, an investigator remarks, "Covington is forty-one miles southeast of Atlanta. Being the principal town, it carries on an extensive trade, especially on Saturdays, with the people of Newton, Jasper and Morgan Counties. On such days the main square . . . is filled with county folk, white and black, in all kinds of conveyances from the carry-all to the ox cart." "Here," according to the writer, "they spend their money, make debts, eat, talk and are happy. Tasting thus the larger life of the town, large numbers of country people are being constantly tempted to leave their farms and move to the towns. At the same time Covington boys and girls are rushing on to Macon and Atlanta."[15]

In Virginia it was said in 1898 that "many of the Negroes had given up farming for the industrial chances of the towns."[16] In Maryland it was reported in 1901 that Negro farmhands came to the towns to secure a little experience in domestic service, only to rush off to the North.[17] According to Edwina Kruse, at least 400 girls and women left Augusta, Georgia, each year for the North. In Montgomery, Alabama, and New Orleans, Louisiana, Negro farmhands, men and women, went westward to California and the oil fields of Texas, seeking the advantage "of higher wages and a better chance to see the world."[18]

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[13] In the North Atlantic Division Negro domestic workers in 1900 were: males, 73,882; females, 66,544. North Central: males, 84,679; females, 50,713; for the Western Division: males, 11,254; females, 7,925; South Atlantic: males, 226,356; females, 281,643; South Central: males, 226,138; females, 258,226. *Special Reports on Occupations*, 1900, pp. 160-161.

[14] U. S. Dept. of Labor, *Bulletin No. 22*, May 1899, p. 462; *The Nation*, Dec. 1, 1896, p. 409.

[15] U. S. Dept. of Labor, "Negroes in the Black Belt," *Bulletin No. 22*, May 1899, p. 406.

The migration of Negroes to the towns affected especially Negro girls and women who were brought in large numbers from the country to serve in domestic capacities. This increasing number of girls seeking employment as servants in the towns also gave rise to a grave social problem. The girls were forced to sleep outside the homes where they worked during the day, which subjected them to many temptations, especially when they went North. Commenting upon this, a speaker before the Hampton Negro Conference of 1904 said that the importation of Southern girls into Northern cities, how the girls obtain places, what becomes of them, and where their ambitions end after the glamor of the new life wears away, were some of the most serious problems which confronted the student of the Negro servant problem. In almost all Northern cities there were intelligence offices which supplied girls for house servants, sometimes importing them, sometimes merely meeting the strange girls as they land in Northern cities and forcing them into a virtual slavery. Inquiries as to the proportion of girls who had places engaged for them revealed the fact that practically all who left New Orleans were so provided for, while in Wilmington, Delaware, the girl or woman from the South who had not a place engaged for her by her friends before arriving was rare. But those two cities were exceptions. From other quarters came the dreary tale of inexperienced girls in the clutches of agents and immoral intelligence offices. Southern girls were usually preferred to Northern girls by club houses and employers of doubtful reputation and immoral proclivities; and because of their very inexperience they were frequently taken without references and even without questioning.[19]

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[16] U. S. Dept. of Labor, "Negroes of Farmville, Va.," *Bulletin No. 14*, 1898, p. 33.

[17] Kruse, Edwina, "Negro Women and Domestic Service" in *The Proceedings of the Hampton Negro Conference*, July 1904, pp. 42, 43.

[18] U. S. Dept. of Labor, "Negroes of Sandy Spring, Md.," *Bulletin No. 32*, p. 76.

According to Miss Kellor, of the College Settlement Association of New York, there were in New York and Brooklyn in 1904 about one hundred agencies run by Negroes; in Philadelphia some fifty. Three-fourths of these ran lodging houses, and all but half a dozen out of the one hundred and fifty were in living rooms, such as kitchens and bedrooms. Many of these agencies, especially the larger and more iniquitous ones, imported girls. They had regular forms of contract which the girls had to sign at the Southern port. By this they agreed to pay $12 or $14 for transportation by boat. A chief shipping point was Richmond, Virginia. This money was usually advanced to the girls by agents, and they assigned their first month's wages, which might be $12 or $20. All rights over their baggage were also assigned to the officer keeper, who held it until they paid or as long as he wished to keep a hold over them. These girls were met at the docks by a runner, who took them to the combined office and lodging house. "The word of the agent," continued Miss Kellor, "their only friend, to whom they" were "indebted," was "law, and they" dared "not refuse." "Where would they turn if they did?"[20] Under such circumstances, then, it is not surprising that many Southern Negro women who might have gone North for domestic service were dissuaded therefrom by these unfavorable reports.

Another factor which stimulated the increase of Negro servants in the South was the attraction of the whites to the cotton and steel plants of that section. Since the mills employed not only the father but the mother and daughter as well, the family usually hired a Negro girl to take care of the home.[21] The meager compensation of the Negro servants made such a provision economical for the whites.[22] Negroes in domestic service received wages ranging from 50 cents to $3.50 a week in such cities as Atlanta and Nashville.[23] According to the United States Bureau of Labor report on Farmville, Virginia, in 1898, Negro men received from $8.00 to $10.00 a month, the women $1.00 to $5.00, according to age and work, a general servant in an ordinary family receiving $4.00.[24] In the Black Belt in 1902 Negroes received $4.00 to $6.00 a month for cooking and $1.50 to $3.00 a month for nursing.[25] Seamstresses received from $4.00 to $16.00 a month.[26] In North Carolina wages ranged from $4.00 to $6.00, and from $3.00 to $8.00 in Richmond.[27] This inadequate remuneration served to turn the whites generally from such employments for the higher remuneration of other spheres.

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[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44.

[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.

Although the small stipend in the South tended to give the Negro women and men a more or less monopoly upon domestic employments, this meager wage scale also caused the Negro house servant and waiter to take the first opportunity to go North where wages for domestic service were four or five times greater. Dr. Dubois in his study of the Farmville Negroes mentioned this as a significant tendency.[28] Speaking of the same in Maryland in 1901, an investigator said, "In the cases of many of the girls and young women domestic service here is a conscious training under the excellent management of the thrifty and energetic Sandy Spring housekeepers for the larger wages and more exciting life of the cities, and there is in consequence a perennial migration of such servants to Washington, Baltimore, and the cities farther north.''[29] Said a worker who had devoted considerable time to this problem a few years later, ''About all the servant girls in Indianapolis have come from the South. Every year they come in large numbers seeking greater privileges and higher wages in the large cities.'' In New York it was reported in 1904 that a very large percentage of the unskilled workers came there directly from the South, expecting to receive high wages for inefficient service.[30] Another observer who made a survey of domestic service at this time also stated that servants seeking higher wages had been sent to different parts of the Eastern States.[31]

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[21] *Report of the U. S. Industrial Commission on Capital and Labor*, 1900, VII, p. 59.

[22] *Literary Digest*, Dec 27, 1900, p. 764.

[23] U. S. Dept. of Labor, *Bulletin No. 10*, pp. 312, 313, 314.

[24] "Negroes of Farmville, Virginia," *Bulletin No. 14*, pp. 20-21.

[25] U. S. Dept. of Labor, *Bulletin No. 22*, p. 407.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 407.

[27] *Proceedings of the Hampton Negro Conference*, July 1904, p. 45.

[28] U. S. Department of Labor, *Bulletin No. 14*, p. 21.

Virtually excluded from Northern industry both by the hostility of trade unions and white workers, the Negroes on reaching the North were forced to turn to domestic employment for a livelihood.[32] In a large Western factory employers and employees actually entered into an agreement in 1892 ''not to hire any Negroes or foreign men for twenty years.''[33] According to Dr. Matthew Anderson,[34] speaking before the Hampton Negro Conference in 1899, ''The lines along most of the avenues of wage earning are more rigidly drawn in the North than in the South. There seems to be an apparent effort throughout the North, especially in the cities, to debar the colored worker from all avenues of highly remunerative labor which makes it more difficult to improve his economic condition even than in the South.''[35] In New Jersey a large manufacturer reported in 1903 that he had never hired nor did he expect to hire Negroes in his factory.[36] Numbers of educated or skilled Negroes, better fitted for higher callings, were compelled, therefore, to accept menial employment for lack of better economic opportunities. In answering the comments of those in the late nineties who saw no benefit in educating Negro youth only to see him become a servant, W. S. Scarborough held that "through the inability of the educated Negro to find an outlet for his talents he is pushed to this extremity by necessity." The same author adds, "The colored youth teaches and preaches but these are limited both in numbers and scope. Few offices are open to him and these are besieged. The father seldom has a paying business into which he can take his son or daughter."[37] The apparently large number of menials was further increased by the many Negro students who likewise worked as waiters, elevator operators or other domestics during the summer.[38]

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[29] U. S. Dept. of Labor "Negroes of Sandy Spring, Md.," *Bulletin No. 32*, p. 77.

[30] *Proceeding of the Hampton Negro Conference*, July 1904, p. 42.

[31] Salmon, Lucy, *Domestic Service* (N. Y., 1897), p. 172.

[32] Seeing this condition, travelers from abroad have mistakably thought of the Negroes as preferring menial service.

[33] Dubois and Dill, "The Negro American Artisan," in *Atlanta University Publications, No. 17*, 1912, p. 88.

[34] Washington, Booker T., *The Future of the American Negro*, p. 76.

[35] *Proceedings of the Hampton Negro Conference*, July 1899, p. 39.

[36] *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor and Industries of New Jersey*, 1903, p. 190.

However, the keen competition for jobs in the North, the fact that domestic service carried with it no social stigma as in the South, and the higher wages paid, all served to weaken the Negroes in this field. As a result the Negro servants had been driven out of the first class hotels in nearly all the cities by 1900. The sole exception was Boston where they were preferred only because of their unusual politeness and extreme deference to the guests. In all the first class hotels of New York, however, they had been largely supplanted by whites.[39]

Likewise whites, and especially Irish servants, were commonly preferred to Negroes for household work. The English coachman, groom and butler with their superior taste and bearing tended to drive the Negro male out of these employments, until the Northern Negro man in many instances had to depend for his support upon the earnings of his wife or daughter who either did day work, "went

[37] *The Forum*, Vol. XXVI, p. 436.

[38] In later years numbers of such Negroes have gone into professions or business. *American Statistical Association, Quarterly Publications*, VII, 239; Annals, XXVII, 84.

[39] *Nineteenth Century Magazine*, XLVI, 970.

into service" or washed and ironed.[40] Thus M. H. Lee, who made a study of the Negroes of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, in 1896 said, "The dependent male receives five per cent of his support from the direct charity of the whites, 95 per cent is furnished by the colored female. 70 per cent of the colored females exclusive of school children and children under school age are in service, 20 per cent do washing at their homes. The women earn from $1.50 to $2.50 with an average of $2.00 a week. If the woman of the family is in service the need of the family is paramount to all other considerations. No provisions arriving at the place of her employment fail to pay her toll, and wash bundles and dress fronts alike furnish her means of conveying food home."[41]

In the Middle West Negro women also engaged in washing and ironing to help out the family budget. In 1903, according to R. R. Wright, Jr., 87 persons in Xenia, Ohio, were reported earning by this means from 75 cents to $5.00 a week. They charged 25 cents a week or $1.00 a month for washing the clothes of a single person, and from 50 cents to $1.50 a week for family washings. "This class which is composed of women, on the whole, works more regularly than the men who are common laborers, and often it happens that the only income which a family may have for several weeks is that which results from the labor of the wife or some other female member of the family. A careful estimate of the wages received in Xenia a year would give about one-fifth to the women."[42]

Despite the numerical increase in the number of Negro servants and waiters beyond that of 1890 the proportions of these workers showed a decline in 1900. This, however, was the case only among the females where the proportion of servants and waiters among all Negro females gainfully employed fell from 28.6 in 1890 to 26.2 in 1900, a loss of

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[40] "Negroes under Northern Conditions" in *Gunton's Magazine*, Vol. X, Jan., 1896, p. 56.
[41] *Ibid.*, p. 56.
[42] United States Bureau of Labor, *Bulletin No. 48*, p. 1029.

2.4 per cent.[43] This loss may be accounted for not only by the sharp white competition in the North which tended to force both the Negro male and female out of such positions,[44] but also by the continued effort of the Negro male to confine his wife and daughter to the work of their own home, as already noted. Negro girls and women, moreover, disliked domestic work and did it only because there was nothing else for them to do. It must be borne in mind, however, that, restricted as was the sphere of employment for the Negro male, the occupational range of the Negro female was limited either to the farm or to house work.

Referring to this practice among the Negroes of Farmville, Virginia, where 217 out of 292 women at work were in domestic service, an investigator said, "There is considerable dissatisfaction over the state of domestic service. The Negroes are coming to regard the work as a relic of slavery and as degrading and only enter it from sheer necessity and then as a temporary makeshift. Parents hate to expose their sons to early lessons of servility which are thus learned and their daughters to the ever possible fate of concubinage. Employers, on the other hand, find an increasing number of careless and impudent young people who neglect their work, and in some cases show vicious tendencies and demoralize the children of the family. They pay low wages partly because the southern custom compels families who ought to do their own work to hire help and they cannot afford to pay much, partly too, because they do not believe the service rendered is worth more. The servants receiving less than they think they ought are often careless and render as little service as possible. They grow to despise the menial work they do partly because their employers themselves despise it and teach their daughters to do the same."[45]

Farther South, where less progress was generally noted, the same situation seemed to be the rule with respect to the changing status of servants. In Texas it was said that "the older generation of Negroes who were trained to service have nearly all died and the survivors are too old to be efficient. The younger Negroes are too lazy." From Mississippi it was reported, that "the majority of those now seeking domestic service are ignorant, uneducated, untrustworthy."[46] Negro employers of domestics could not give a much better report, for Negro servants preferred to work in white families, disliking to serve or take orders from persons of their own color however far removed from them economically and socially.[47]

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[43] *Special Census Reports on Occupations*, 1900, p. CXII.

[44] United States Bureau of Labor, *Bulletin No. 48*, p. 1029.

[45] Dubois, W. E. B., "Negroes of Farmville, Va.," U. S. Dept of Labor, *Bulletin No. 14*.

Although Negro servants and waiters increased between 1890 and 1900 the number of Negro laundrymen and laundresses advanced at a faster rate. These workers increased by almost one-half during this interval. Whereas 153,684 Negro laundrymen and laundresses were reported in 1890, this number, according to the Census of 1900, had increased to 220,104, a gain of 66,420, or 43.2 per cent.[48] Since the Negro females alone constituted 99.2 per cent of all persons listed as laundrymen and laundresses in 1900, the males having declined from 2,144 to 1,877 during the decade, the discussion will apply almost wholly to women.[49]

The increase in the number of Negro washerwomen may be ascribed not only to the necessity of helping to augment the meager earnings of their husbands but also to the fact that the white women, because of low wages and the stigma attached, especially in the South, were content to leave this employment to Negro women.[50] In the North and

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[46] Cited in Salmon's *Domestic Service*, p. 174, note.

[47] Lee in *Gunton's Magazine*, Jan., 1896, pp. 55-56; U. S. Dept. of Labor, *Bulletin No. 14; Gunton's Magazine*, Jan., 1896.

[48] *Negro Population in the U. S., 1790-1915*, p. 526; U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Special Census Reports on Occupations in 1900*, p. CXII. Moreover, the proportion which the Negro women engaged as laundresses constituted of all the Negro females at work in 1900 showed an increase over that of 1890.

[49] *Negro Population*, p. 526.

[50] Those who took the washing into their homes received a little more—from 60 cents to $1.00 for a family wash. Of course, in the latter instance

West, however, the increase in the Negro hand laundresses manifests in part a reflection of the economic competition for jobs which had all but excluded the Negroes from industry [51] and was gradually expelling them from the most desired domestic positions.[52] Finding that in many cases white women were preferred as house servants, the Negro women were forced to accept what the whites did not desire—namely, washing and ironing, which was much harder work.[53]

A considerable number of Negro males and females, moreover, worked in steam laundries both in the North and South. In a few places the Negroes conducted laundries themselves. This was the case in Farmville, Virginia, where the Negroes owned the only laundry in the county.[54] In some places in the North, as in Boston, the Negro males entered laundries at such a rate that they displaced the white women. The invasion of the steam laundries by Negro men, however, only had the effect of elevating the white women to higher occupations, for they went into the better paying factory work. Thus Fannie A. Ames when asked whether the displacement of white women by colored labor had caused these women to be thrown upon the labor market responded, "I should not say thrown upon the labor market because it seems to me . . . they are rather beckoned into new trades. We have increased tremendously the luxuries of living and manufacture of articles of luxury . . . all this gives employment to large numbers of women as well as men." [55]

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the laundress had to furnish her own board. In rural Virginia, the Negro laundresses received from 35 to 50 cents a day. Those who did such work at home received from 50 to 75 cents a day. During the hard times caused by the business depression which gripped the country generally following the Panic of 1893, some Negro washerwomen received as little as 25 cents a day. Wages in the Southern cities were a little higher, which consequently served to attract Negro women as day laborers doing washing at the home of the employer.

[51] *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 81, p. 228.

[52] *Nineteenth Century Magazine*, XLVI, p. 970.

[53] *Gunton's Magazine*, January, 1898, pp. 55-56.

[54] U. S. Dept. of Labor, *Bulletin No. 14*, p. 18.

[55] Report of U. S. Industrial Commission on Capital and Labor, Part I (testimony), pp. 64-65.

The number of Negro janitors and sextons, unlike that of some other menial classes just noted above, almost doubled between 1890 and 1900, increasing from 5,945 in the former year to 11,536 in the latter, a gain of 93.8 per cent.[56] Not much competition was encountered in this sphere, for in the South a janitorship was considered a Negro job. In many Northern and Western cities likewise the Negro men were commonly employed as janitors and caretakers of buildings.[57] Sextons increased largely because of the multiplication of Negro churches, although some white churches also hired Negroes in this capacity. Negro sextons, however, often did other odd jobs as well because of the infrequency of their services especially in their own churches.

The large increases reported for Negro boarding house keepers and restaurant keepers are more or less misleading, for most of the boarding and lodging houses were nothing more than private homes. Restaurant keepers, no doubt, were confused with workers in these establishments. For the same reason, although a slight decrease of 4.5 per cent was evident among saloonkeepers in 1900, the same error had crept in. Bartenders in some cases had been confused with saloonkeepers. Without a doubt, however, some increase was noted in these occupations [58] especially as the Negro tended to migrate to the cities.[59]

The increase among Negro barbers and hairdressers was normal during the decade between 1890 and 1900,[60] but the largest increase of all persons engaged in any branch of domestic and personal service beyond the number reported in 1890, however, was shown by nurses and midwives. This class advanced from 5,213 in 1890 to 19,431 in 1900, a gain of 14,218 or 272 per cent. This may be partly explained by the opening up of hospitals where Negro nurses were trained.[61] Most of those reported, however, were untrained, acting as attendants for children. The increasing number of midwives resulted largely from the absence of adequate Negro physicians.[62]

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[56] *Negro Population, 1790-1915*, p. 526.

[57] Prior to the recent mechanization in the industrial world white men did not generally compete with Negroes for such jobs as they have since so many have been displaced in higher pursuits.

[58] "The Negro in Business" in the *Atlanta University Publications*, p. 6.

[59] *Colored American Magazine*, Dec., 1901, p. 159.

[60] *Negro Population in the U. S., 1790-1915*, p. 526.

THE DECLINE AFTER 1900

In contrast to this progressive movement in this field up to 1900, the proportion of Negroes in domestic and personal service declined between 1900 and the outbreak of the World War. Several factors, which were apparent in the preceding decade, now became so intensified that in many cases the Negroes were almost driven from some of the service employments. These forces operated in various manners in the different sections.

In the South there were complaints that the Negroes' inefficiency [63] and neglect of duty were operating to take this work out of their hands.[64] Many of these complaints, no doubt, were justified, for most of these Negroes were fresh from the farms, and their incompetency may be ascribed mainly to lack of opportunity for domestic training. The apparent faults of the Negro domestics, moreover, were due somewhat to the small wages and not infrequently to harsh treatment. Furthermore, because house work smacked of the slave régime it grew more and more obnoxious to Negroes when farther removed from that period.[65]

Largely because of the failure of the Negro house servants to give satisfaction white workers came into this occupation, which made for a more or less relative reduction in the number of Negro domestics in the South. A traveler through the South in 1899 reported that in some cases Southern poor whites and Northern migrants to the South braved the social stigma and hired out as servants.[66] Another keen observer, who traveled through the South in 1903, remarked that although the present-day Negro domestic has things her own way, white girls in isolated instances work in domestic service.[67] About the same time it was reported from Virginia that not only had "Negro waiters in one of the large schools been recently replaced by the white waitresses brought here from a long distance" but that some Negro domestics have been displaced by white house girls.[68] According to a later authority, "Already, here and there, scattered throughout the South even in many smaller towns white domestic servants may be seen. There are white barbers and bootblacks and white men in other trades and callings." [69]

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[61] *Proceedings of the Hampton Negro Conference*, 1898, p. 77; *Colored American Magazine*, March 1901, p. 374.

[62] Washington, Booker T., "The Negro Doctor in the South" in the *Independent*, Thursday, July 11, 1907, pp. 89-91.

[63] *Gunton's Magazine*, Dec., 1903, pp. 524-526.

[64] *Proceedings of the Hampton Negro Conference*, July 1903, p. 48.

[65] *Annals*, 1903, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

While in many cases these white domestics were employed because of dissatisfaction with Negro service workers, in other instances it was a matter of preference by some Southern housekeepers. Especially was this the case in the Southwest and among those of foreign extraction. "In Texas," says an investigator, "the proportion of the foreign born population is larger than in any other of the Southern States, and advertisements from all the leading cities in the state show a decided preference for German or Swedish domestics." An advertisement in *The Fort Worth Gazette* that year said, "Wanted—a white woman (German or Swede preferred) as cook in a private family." An employer wrote from Austin, "In Texas cities domestic service is furnished by Germans and Swedes to a large extent, and the tendency to employ them is growing." The same preference for white domestics had been likewise shown by a canvass of over 900 families in six representative Southern cities and states in 1897 as set forth in the table below.[70]

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[66] This was in a sense a revolution in two ways, for white employers had usually expressed a preference for Negroes in domestic and personal service, and they usually held in utmost contempt the poor whites who sought such employment.

[67] Bowen, Robert Adger, "The Traveller in the South" in *Gunton's Magazine*, Dec., 1903, p. 526.

[68] Pinchbeck, *The Virginia Negro Artisan and Tradesman*, p. 115.

[69] Stone, A. H., *Studies in The American Race Problem*, p. 199.

TABLE 31.—PREFERENCE FOR WHITE DOMESTICS

City or State	Number Examined	No Preference	White Help Preferred	Negroes Preferred
Charleston	259	143	65	51
Louisville	200	104	80	16
New Orleans	145	103	35	7
Savannah	106	66	26	14
Texas	67	31	35	1
Washington, D. C.	135	61	54	20
Total	912	508	295	109

On the whole, however, despite the employment of Southern whites in menial pursuits, the Negro continued to hold the prominent place in these occupations in the South. That this preëminent position of the Negro existed in many instances, however, cannot be ascribed to the merit of the Negro servants, but rather to the fact that to a large measure such work was still considered beneath the dignity of native Southerners. At that time, too, foreign domestics had not invaded the South.[71]

In contrast to the preponderance of Negroes in domestic service in the South, certain factors caused the Northern and Western Negroes to yield ground to the whites.[72] First, was the fact that feeling against the Negro as such, all other things being equal, generally gave the preference to the whites.[73] Negroes, then, were relegated chiefly to such positions as those of washerwomen, scrubbers, cleaners, and the like. In New Haven, Connecticut, in 1903 it was reported that the Negroes, although limited chiefly to domestic service, were mainly washerwomen.[74] In Springfield the same condition obtained in 1905.[75] In the wealthy families of Ansonia, Derby, and other adjacent towns of Connecticut, to the authors' own knowledge, most of the maids were white. Sometimes Negroes served as cooks, but most frequently as day workers or laundresses.[76] In New York, Irish and other foreign house servants were gradually supplanting the Negroes in this capacity in 1906.[77] "In domestic service also," said a writer of Boston some years later, "the Negro girls are usually a second choice to those of Swedish, German, or other nationalities."[78] Throughout the West the same tendency was in evidence, for the large German and Scandinavian element usually preferred white servants. "A growing proportion of the substantial population of the city is German," said an investigator of St. Louis in 1903, "and a German family rarely employs a Negro servant."

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[70] Salmon, Lucy, *Domestic Service*, p. 173.

[71] According to Mr. Bowen, in 1903, white girls only in isolated instances would work in domestic service—*Gunton's Magazine*, Dec., 1903, p. 526. John E. Bush, writing of conditions in Little Rock, Ark., in 1905 reported that "all of the domestic work for the white people as a rule is done by colored servants"—*Colored American Magazine*, Jan., 1905, p. 42.

[72] *Independent*, Feb. 6, 1902, pp. 338-339; Miller, Kelly, "Economic Handicap of the Negro in the North," in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, May 1906, p. 84; *New York Age*, July 27, 1905.

[73] *Bulletin of the Intermunicipal Committee on Household Research*, New York City, May 1905, p. 15; *New York Age*, May 4, 1905.

In other parts of the North the Negro house servants found the same difficulty in securing the better paying jobs. Many of them were inefficient like other workers similarly employed in the South.[79] In many cases they were fresh from the South, untrained, untidy, unreliable, and careless in the performance of their tasks.[80] Naturally the better trained foreign white women, mostly Irish, Swedish, or English, were called in preference to the Negro domestics and were given more compensation.[81]

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[74] *Southern Workman*, Vol. XXXVI, 1907, pp. 379-380.

[75] *Springfield Weekly Republican*, Feb. 10, 1905.

[76] One of the authors knew a Negro woman who worked as laundress for a rich family in Ansonia, Connecticut. At the same time the cook was Irish and the maid Scotch. The laundress was a day worker getting $1.50 a day.

[77] This, however, was not a new development, for the Irish and the German elements immigrating into this country before the Civil War displaced Negroes in the same way in Eastern cities.

[78] Daniels, John, *In Freedom's Birthplace*, "A Study of Boston Negroes," p. 325.

[79] Wright, R. R. Jr., "Negroes of Xenia, Ohio," U. S. Bureau of Labor *Bulletin*, 1903, pp. 1028-1029.

[80] *Outlook*, Jan. 30, 1904, p. 268.

[81] One of the authors knew Negro domestic workers before the World War, who rarely went to work after a dance or the day following the annual Sunday school picnic. The restricted social life of the Northern Negro

It was commonly reported that hundreds of Southern Negro girls from rural communities were flocking to the North, seeking positions as domestics. It was added, however, that such girls were not sufficiently trained to compete with the Northern foreign servants.[82] In Chicago where almost two-thirds of all the Negro wage earners were engaged in domestic service, it was said that, although Negroes were willingly given work as servants, trained domestics among them could not be found. "The demands made upon the Employment Department (of the Chicago Colored Women's Business Club) for well trained domestics," said its head in 1901, "are greater than it can supply, for skilled colored artisans in this work are almost unobtainable." It was recommended that "more colored girls, forced to earn a livelihood, would educate themselves thoroughly in domestic science, for salaries far in excess of those paid many clerks could easily be demanded."[83] Added to their lack of training, the Negro domestics, it was said, disdaining such servile work and entering into it only because of necessity, were disposed to do as little work as possible and to assert their independence if taken to task.[84]

It is only fair to the Negro domestics, however, to state that both white and black servants were subjected to censure

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worker was partly responsible for this. Limited means of conveyance also rendered it almost impossible for these workers to return home if they went out of town, for very few of them had automobiles. *Proceedings of the Hampton Negro Conference*, July 1904, p. 46; *New York Age*, Oct. 5, 1905.

[82] *Proceedings of Hampton Negro Conference*, July, 1905, p. 78.

[83] *Colored American Magazine*, II, April 1901, pp. 465-466.

[84] A writer in *The Outlook* comparing the present Negro house servant with the antebellum domestic remarked, "Gone are the neat housekeepers in guinea blue calicoes, starched until they rattled like the best taffeta and who felt a personal pride in keeping the mahogany shining like a mirror. . . .

In their places is an ignorant creature in dirty finery, the first article of whose faith is a settled determination not to work. For the time being this has been shaken by hunger or by a desire to buy a sleazy silk dress, and she condescends to serve in your kitchen and make your beds but she does it under protest. She has no pride in her occupation or desire to do it well. She does not burden her mind with the insignificant details that go to make good cooking. She dashes a lot of things together, and if they turn out all right, well and good. If not, also well and good. All that she is interested in is drawing her wages and carrying back and forth the basket that is the commissary department of a horde of idle and shiftless friends."—*Outlook*, Jan. 30, 1904, p. 268.

from exasperated housewives.[85] The best white servants were either lured into the factory because of the prospect for better wages and shorter hours, or because of increasing well-being were able to stay at home or go to school. Many of the best Negro domestics were being withdrawn from this service upon marrying, after which they usually performed day work or took in washing at home in order to devote more time to their own affairs. There can be no doubt about the inefficiency of the Negro farm girl who entered domestic service for the first time any more than that of the former field worker from Southern or Eastern Europe. But even this inefficiency was aggravated in most cases by the poor pay, the long and irregular hours, the varying quantities of work, the vagaries and caprices of employers, and the social stigma attached to housework.[86]

In the same manner Negro waiters and hotel employees were giving way before the inroads of the whites. Throughout the entire North and West most of the best hotels and restaurants replaced their Negro waiters with whites. The loss of the Negroes in these occupations was not only evident but caused widespread alarm among Negro leaders. In this connection Samuel Scrotton, commenting in 1905 upon the displacement of Negroes in these occupations by foreigners in New York, said, "The Italian, Sicilian, and Greek, foreign to America's language and institutions, occupy every industry that was confessedly the Negroes forty years ago. They have the bootblack stands, the news stands, barbering, waiters, victualers, restaurants, janitorships, and the catering business . . . and furthermore occupy the very homes of Negroes, and the Negro pays rent while the Italian is the owner."

According to a Negro writer in 1905, "It is quite safe to say that in the last fifteen years the colored people have lost about every occupation that was regarded as peculiarly their own." "The battle for employment has gone against us as a race in the domestic and hotel service in Boston," said another that same year.[87] "In New York," said M. W. Ovington in 1906, "no Negroes were found in the first-class hotels and in only a few of the best restaurants."[88] According to another investigator in Boston in 1914, many hotels and restaurants had supplanted their Negro waiters with white ones of various nationalities.[89]

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[85] See Salmon's *Domestic Service*, Chapter VI; *Nation*, Oct. 22, 1903, p. 317.
[86] *The Nation*, October 22, 1903, p. 317.

Sometimes this displacement could be explained only on social grounds.[90] An interested observer in 1906 felt that the decrease of Negroes in the higher forms of domestic service, especially barbering, was due solely to "the preference of the white man to patronize or be served by one of his own kind."[91] "White men entered these places and were strong enough to displace the unorganized, thoughtless and easy-going occupants of this work. When bodies of Greeks, Italians, and other folks began to pour into Chicago the demand for the Negroes' places began. One occupation after another that the colored people thought was theirs forever by a sort of divine right, fell into the hands of these foreign workers. This loss was not so much due to prejudice against color as to the ability of the foreigners to increase the efficiency and reliability of the places sought and captured."[92]

Another factor which reduced the number of Negro waiters was the influx of whites into domestic service during the hard times just before the World War. The scarcity of work lent an especial luster to hotel and restaurant service. Where white workers could replace the Negroes quietly they did so as noted above. Failing, on several occasions, they resorted to violence, driving the Negro waiters not only out of their employment but even out of the town. There were ten former health resorts in Orange County, Indiana, in the lower, southern section of the State, where Negroes during this period had been employed as waiters at the hotels. Within a few days they were warned to leave the town and threatened with death if they attempted to stay.[93] Some other blacks had recently come to Decatur, the chief town of Adams County, mainly as domestic servants, but they were soon driven out by a white mob which forced employers to promise that they would never again hire a Negro for any purpose.

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[87] *New York Age*, July 27, 1905 and October 5, 1905.
[88] *Annals*, May 1906, p. 95.
[89] Daniels, *op. cit.*, p. 324.
[90] Grimké, Archibald H., in *The New York Age*, Oct. 5, 1905.
[91] Miller, Kelly, in *The Annals*, May 1906, p. 84.
[92] *New York Age*, May 1904.

The trade unions also became a barrier to Negro waiters, for whenever the whites entered the trade, they inevitably organized and then demanded higher wages. By refusing Negro waiters admittance to their unions, they managed to keep the best hotels and restaurants closed to them as in St. Louis and Chicago.[94] If the latter organized a separate union it was usually not recognized by the whites. Consequently, the Negroes were forced to forage on the outside which usually meant working for lower wages in second class houses. As a consequence it was said in St. Louis in 1914 that the wages of white waiters in some places were almost one-third greater than those of the Negroes.[95]

Like the Negro waiters, black coachmen, valets, butlers, and bellboys in the North and West also tended to decline. Wealthy Northern families, then, considered it fashionable to have Japanese or English butlers and valets, and these foreign workers rapidly displaced the Negro in these capacities.[96] A Negro butler in Boston after answering more than two hundred advertisements and having been refused each time ostensibly on grounds of color, was finally forced to return to New York. Arriving there, he exclaimed in exasperation, "These Boston people get me. They will have mass meetings to help educate the Negroes down South, but they will let a decent Northerner starve before they will give him a chance to earn an honest living.''[97]

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[93] Accounts of this appeared in the press throughout the country.

[94] Crossland, *Industrial Conditions in St. Louis*, pp. 63-64, 67-68.

[95] *Ibid.*, p. 64.

[96] It was not altogether fashion, however, for in many cases race prejudice figured largely in this attitude.

In the Far West, it was reported in 1913 that Chinese and Japanese butlers, valets, and hotel employees enjoyed the preference over Negroes. It was also said that inasmuch as they were so trustworthy and, on the whole, skillful, they received wages much higher than normal.[98] Even in Boston by 1914 Negro bellboys at some of the leading hotels gave way to Japanese, although whites usually supplanted them. It was said in this case that the Negro bellboys were "unreliable, given to petty thievery, lazy, and deficient in personal cleanliness.''[99] Negro footmen, although tending to yield ground in private families, were sometimes engaged by department stores and hotels as doormen. Negro porters and waiters on trains held their monoply by virtue of the degrading character of their work and the meager wages which made them dependent almost wholly on tips for their living.

Unhindered by such opposition as faced the Negro waiters and butlers, however, the Negro laundrymen and laundresses showed the greatest gain of any class in domestic and personal service up to the outbreak of the World War. The number of Negroes thus occupied almost doubled between 1900 and 1910. This was largely due to the fact that the work was exceedingly arduous and ill paid with wages ranging from 50 cents to $1.50 for a family washing. Many a Negro housewife in the North washed and ironed for a family of six or seven and considered herself fortunate to receive from $1.00 to $1.50 a day. Less than four per cent of these persons were employed in steam laundries.

In contrast to the increase among Negro laundresses, Negro janitors, sextons, housekeepers, and stewards were being pushed out of such positions. The increase among housekeepers and stewards was negligible between 1900 and 1910;[100] and although the number of janitors and sextons more than doubled between 1900 and the outbreak of the Great War, in most cases the better paying jobs were taken by foreigners.[101] The Swedes in Chicago captured the janitor business by organizing and training their men in such a way as to increase the efficiency and reliability of the service.[102] From St. Louis in 1914 came the report that "although janitors and porters form the largest opportunity for Negro males in St. Louis there was no doubt that other nationalities, especially the Swedes and Germans, were taking the better class of janitor work away from the Negroes, especially in the office buildings."[103]

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[97] *Bulletin of the Intermunicipal Committee on Household Research*, New York City, p. 15.

[98] Jenks and Lauck, *The Immigration Problem*, p. 243.

[99] Daniel, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

[100] Jenks and Lauck, *The Immigration Problem*, pp. 237-249.

In another instance wholesale dismissal of Negro janitors occurred for no other reason than that whites were preferred. Thus in 1913 the National Cash Register Company of Dayton, Ohio, discharged 300 Negro janitors on the grounds that they desired to have American farm boys start in at the bottom and work up.[104] For the Negro there was usually no chance for such advancement. In cases where the Negro janitor was equal in skill to the white the question thrust at a white employer as to whether he would give a Negro a job in preference to a white man, usually settled the matter. The large increase of Negroes in such jobs as janitors and sextons indicates that in the case of janitors they usually accepted jobs where the pay was less and where more work was required than if they had been white. Most of the sextons, no doubt, were caretakers of Negro churches, the majority of whom had other work.

The advance among Negro barbers, once holding what was considered a Negro job, was negligible, their trade being largely confined to their own race. White patrons in many instances refused to patronize Negro barber shops which solicited their trade. Sometimes this refusal was due to prejudice; often it was because of better environment and service in white barber shops. Said a Negro educator in 1906, "Although the whole world acknowledges that the Negro is an expert with the razor . . . yet the white man supplants him by sheer virtue of the fact that he belongs to the more numerous and preferred class."[105] According to an investigator in an Ohio city in 1912, "A white man came into a barber shop and pulled off his coat ready to have some work done, when, looking around, he noticed that all the barbers were colored. A look of surprise and disappointment came over his face. He put on his coat again and walked out without saying a word."[106] By 1910 the Italians and Germans had virtually displaced the Negro barbers who had been catering exclusively to whites in the North.

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[101] Kruse, Edwina, "Negro Women in Domestic Service" in the *Proceedings of the Hampton Negro Conference, 1904*, p. 39; *Annals of the American Academy*, etc., p. 95; *Outlook*, June 23, 1906, pp. 398, 399.

[102] Fannie Barrier Williams, in *The New York Age*, May 4, 1905.

[103] Crossland, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

[104] Quillin, *Color Line in Ohio*, p. 138.

Speaking of this, another observer remarked, "White men in Chicago have made more of the barber business than did the colored men, and by organization have driven every Negro barber from the business district."[107] "The competition of German and Italian barbers," in the language of a Negro investigator, "furnished the last and most potent reason for the withdrawal of the Negro; they were skilled workmen while skilled Negroes were becoming scarce; they cut down the customary prices and some of them found business encouragement and coöperation which the Negro could not hope for. For these reasons the business is slipping from the Negro."[108]

Unlike the Negro barbers, nurses and midwives showed an increase between 1900 and 1910. This was due partly to the monopoly formerly enjoyed by the Negroes as nurses in the South and also to additional facilities in Negro hospitals for training them. Most of those reported, however, were untrained employees merely caring for children in white families, another case of confusion by the census enumerators.

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[105] *The Annals*, May 1906, p. 83.
[106] Quillin, *Color Line in Ohio*, p. 148.
[107] *New York Age*, May 1904.
[108] Dubois, W. E. B., *The Philadelphia Negro*, p. 116.

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CHAPTER VI

TRADE AND TRANSPORTATION TO 1917

While the majority of Negroes remained on the farms or worked in service the comparatively large increase of Negro workers in trade and transportation from 1890 to 1914 deserves special mention as a significant trend in the development of Negro labor. In 1890 the total number of Negroes engaged in these two correlated fields was 145,717. By 1910, this number had more than doubled, for in that year 334,422 Negroes were thus employed. Accordingly, during the twenty year span, from 1890 to 1910, 188,705 Negroes were added to the number in these occupations. This was an increase of 129.5 per cent.

Table 32.—Comparative Changes in the Numbers of Negroes in Trade and Transportation, 1890 to 1910

	No.	No.	Increase	
	1890	1910	No.	Per Cent
Agents	1,172	4,355	3,183	271.5
Bankers and brokers	114	241	127	111.4
Boatmen and sailors	6,545	7,469	924	14.1
Bookkeepers and accountants	293	1,628	1,335	455.6
Clerks and copyists	4,972	13,578	8,606	173.0
Stenographers and typists	126	1,081	955	757.9
Commercial travelers	103	332	229	222.3
Draymen, hackmen, teamsters, chauffeurs, etc.	43,963	96,897	52,934	120.4
Foremen and overseers	471	1,854	1,383	293.8
Hostlers	10,500	12,976	2,476	23.5
Hucksters and peddlers	2,516	3,434	918	36.4
Livery stable keepers	390	403	13	3.3
Merchants and dealers (retail)	6,646	13,924	7,278	109.5
Merchants and dealers (wholesale)	535	257	—278	—51.9
Messenger and errand and office boys	4,119	8,816	4,697	114.0
Officials of banks and companies	213	1,115	902	423.4
Packers and shippers	567	2,944	2,377	419.2
Porters and helpers in stores	11,694	45,256	33,562	287.0
Salesmen and saleswomen	1,166	4,699	3,533	303.0
Steam railroad employees	47,548	103,606	56,058	117.9
Street railroad employees	589	3,748	3,159	536.3
Telegraph and telephone linemen	271	1,058	787	290.4
Telegraph and telephone operators	156	362	206	132.0
Undertakers	231	953	722	312.5
Others in trade and transportation	817	3,436	2,619	320.5
	145,717	334,422	188,705	129.5

Another evidence of the increase of Negroes in trade and transportation is shown by the advance in the proportion of certain Negro workers in these occupations. These persons, although constituting a very small percentage of all Negro laborers, tended steadily to advance from 4.8 per cent in 1890 to 6.44 per cent by 1910. The percentage of the Negroes thus engaged was small indeed when compared with that of the whites, no group of whom had less than five times the percentage of the Negroes serving in this capacity.[1] Most of the Negro workers in trade and transportation were engaged in occupations requiring little or no skill, as shown in the table.

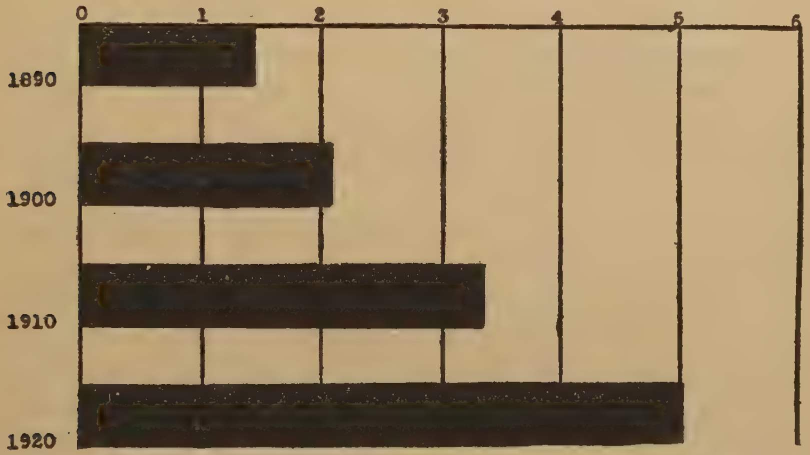

DIAGRAM 5.—COMPARATIVE NUMBERS OF NEGROES ENGAGED IN TRADE AND TRANSPORTATION, BY HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS, 1890 TO 1920.

Both the largest number and the largest increase among Negroes engaged in trade and transportation up to the outbreak of the World War were of railroad hands. The Negroes engaged in this work more than doubled during this period. According to the United States Census of 1910, the number engaged aggregated 103,606. This marked an increase of 56,058 or 117.9 per cent beyond that of 1890 when the Negro railroad workers stood at 47,548.[2]

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[1] U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Special Census Reports on Occupations, 1890*, p. 19; derived from *Negro Population in the U. S., 1790-1915*, p. 526. Compare U. S. Census, *Occupations, the 13th Census*, 1910.

The large increase of Negro railroad workers may be ascribed to several factors. Among them was the increasing network of railroad construction in the South which opened a wider field for common labor[3] such as the Negro could easily supply. In addition, dissatisfaction with farm labor, poor wages, and bad treatment caused a movement from the rural sections to the towns and cities in search of other employment.[4] •Accordingly, railroad labor with its better pay[5] and opportunity for greater social contact was eagerly sought by many Negroes. In other cases Negroes because of their tractability and greater capacity for heavy work were preferred as laborers by some railroad companies.[6] The appropriation of factory labor mainly by the whites, too, left this field of employment, especially in the South, more and more to Negroes.[7]

The large majority of the Negro railroad workers were doing chiefly the out-of-door, heavy, rough labor requiring much physical strength and endurance, but little skill.[8] Most of them were road bed repairers, track layers, and section hands. As late as 1910 more than four-fifths of all the Negro railroad workers were common laborers.[9] Only in the South, except in isolated cases, were Negroes afforded opportunities to perform work which entailed much responsibility or skill.[10] In this section the Negroes held positions ranging all the way from baggage and freight agents to locomotive engineers.[11] In the Upper South,

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[2] *Negro Population in U. S., 1790-1915*, p. 526. Compare U. S. Census, *Occupations*, 1910 and 1900.

[3] Fleming, Walter, "Immigration to the South" in the *Political Science Quarterly*, XX, 1905, p. 279.

[4] U. S. Bureau of Labor, *Negroes in the Black Belt, Bulletin No. 22*, p. 406.

[5] Fleming, *op. cit.*, p. 279.

[6] *Southern Workman*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 397.

[7] *Report of U. S. Industrial Commission*, 1900, VII, p. 59, 60; Mitchell, *Rise of the Cotton Mills*, p. 213, *et. seq.*

[8] *Report of U. S. Industrial Commission*, 1900, VII, pp. 63-65.

[9] *Negro Population in the U. S., 1790-1915*, p. 526.

[10] *Literary Digest*, Dec. 24, 1898, p. 740; *Colored American Magazine*, XI, July 1905, p. 68; *Report of U. S. Industrial Commission*, VII, *passim.*

[11] "The Negro Artisan," *Atlanta University Publications, passim.*

Negroes employed in these higher capacities were not so common. "At Bluefield, West Virginia, however," it was said, "the Norfolk and Western Railway employed several hundred Negroes as flagmen, firemen, brakemen, and in other capacities."[12]

Comparatively few Negroes, however, held responsible positions in the railway systems of the North.[13] Most Negroes there were in the Pullman service as waiters or porters. Speaking of the lack of opportunity of the Negro railway employees to rise above such menial positions in that section, an observer said, "Of the tens of thousands of miles of railway in the North with its tens of thousands of manipulators, the only work as a rule open to Negroes is that of porters on trains, the most menial and ill paid occupation within the gift of a corporation."[14] According to a writer in 1914, there were "900 Negro Pullman porters" in St. Louis, who constituted the largest number of Negroes in the employ of the railroads.[15] Subsequent surveys of the Negroes in cities like Philadelphia, Boston, Cleveland, and Chicago strengthened this opinion.[16]

Yet some of the Negroes in the railway service were performing labor which required either skill or responsibility such as locomotive engineers, firemen, brakemen, and switchmen. The list in 1910 follows:[17]

TABLE 33.—SKILLED NEGRO RAILROAD EMPLOYEES IN 1910

Baggagemen	225
Brakemen	4,714
Foremen and overseers	951
Locomotive engineers	355
Switchmen and flagmen	2,127
Freight agents	17
Conductors	120
Locomotive firemen	5,188
Officials and superintendents	17

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[12] Moorland, Jesse E., *Some Significant Religious Events* in the *Hampton Negro Conference Proceedings*, July 1904, pp. 108-109.

[13] Mass. Bureau of Statistics and Labor, *Social and Industrial Conditions of the Negro in Massachusetts* (1904), p. 246.

[14] Stevens, James Samuel, *The Industrial Color Line in the North* in the *Century Magazine*, Vol. LX, pp. 477-478

[15] Crossland, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

[16] Daniels, *In Freedom's Birthplace*, 334.

[17] *Negro Population, 1790-1915, ut supra.*

The most important group of these railroad employees consisted of Negro firemen. Their increase on the Southern roads was effected in various ways. The Negro had long been engaged in this capacity on many railroads even during the antebellum days, and tended to hold these positions through custom. Thus it was said as late as 1905 that "on the Atlantic Coast Line Railway none but colored men are employed as firemen and switchmen."[18] Another factor stimulating the increase in Negro firemen was the preference shown by the white engineers for them. This partiality toward Negro firemen was largely due, in the opinion of a witness before the United States Industrial Commission in 1900, to the fact that the Negro firemen were more tractable than whites and would "wait upon the engineers."[19] The latter preferred them, too, because the Negro firemen had no ambition to become engineers inasmuch as the increasingly hostile trades unions barred Negroes from such positions. Other common carriers, like the Georgia Railroad, preferred certain Negro workers, firemen especially, because of their efficiency and faithfulness and non-union affiliation.[20] Perhaps the greatest stimulus toward the advance of the Negro firemen, however, was the fact that the railroad companies could buy their labor for less than they could that of the whites. Thus, whereas white firemen generally received $30 a month, Negroes performing the same work were paid only $25 a month. White firemen themselves were pleased to see this difference made in favor of workers of their race, but the less expensive Negro labor tended to drive them off the roads.[21]

There were also at work, however, forces resulting in a decrease in Negro firemen and other skilled railroad workers during this period. This opposition came largely through the white Locomotive Firemen's Union. The immediate cause was the undermining of the white firemen by the cheaper Negro labor. On this account the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, under the leadership of Grand Master F. P. Sargent, prepared as early as 1898 to drive the Negro firemen from the railroads. That year the white employees of the Georgia Railroad struck, demanding that all Negro brakemen and firemen be dismissed. In the face of this demand only the courageous and just stand of the company prevented the desired wholesale discharge of Negro employees.[22]

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[18] *Colored American Magazine*, July 1905, p. 68.

[19] *Report of the U. S. Industrial Commission*, VII, p. 500.

[20] *The Nation*, Vol. LXXXIX, p. 591.

[21] *Literary Digest*, Dec. 24, 1898, p. 740; *Report of the United States Industrial Commission*, VII, p. 500.

Another case in point was the strike of white union workers on the Houston and Texas Central Railroad. Said *The Nation* of this, "The recent controversy over the color line in Texas is of interest throughout the country. The Houston and Texas Central Railroad began to employ black men in various departments of its service. Some of the white employees struck and S. E. Wilkinson, Grand Master of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, in their behalf applied to Mr. Dillingham, the receiver of the road, for the discharge of the blacks. Mr. Dillingham flatly refused to comply with the demand. 'The colored men,' he said, 'have rendered faithful and efficient service and I feel it would be unjust to them as it would be unjust to any other person to turn them out simply to put others in their places.' The question was finally carried before the Supreme Council of the Federation and that body decided that Mr. Dillingham was right."[23]

Similar efforts were put forth up to 1914 to drive the Negro firemen off the trains. This movement in some States had the support of public officials, as in Texas, where legislative efforts were made to restrict the Negroes to agriculture and menial pursuits. Concerning this attempt to remove Negro firemen from the trains, a writer said, "Representative Blount and Senator Chambers of Texas are now striving to prohibit the employment of Negroes by railroads and other corporations. But, of course, the fate of this bill need cause no concern, for thinking white people of the State surely cannot desire to deprive the Negro of any opportunity to make an honest living." Another attempt was made to bar Negroes from the Cincinnati, New Orleans and Texas Pacific Railroad in 1911, but it was unsuccessful.[24]

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[22] *Report of the U. S. Industrial Commission*, 1900, VII, p. 500.
[23] *Literary Digest*, October 30, 1898, p. 334.

The greatest strike, however, took place on the Georgia Railroad in 1907. This strike, called by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers, if successful, would have established the precedent for the exclusion of Negro firemen from all the Southern roads.[25] The company, with justice, however, supported the Negroes, stating that the adoption of such stipulations, as demanded by the strikers, would utterly and completely destroy the reasonable rights of seniority in runs which had been acquired by Negro firemen by long service and who had been found worthy of promotion as firemen simply by reason of their efficiency and faithfulness. Angered by the determined stand of the company, the white strikers then began to destroy the railroad's property.[26] White engineers who championed the cause of the Negro firemen were "mobbed and otherwise maltreated." Governor Hoke Smith, who sympathized with the strikers, refused to send troops to protect the property of the railroad. After much rioting and the inability of either the company or the strikers to agree upon the disposition of the Negro firemen, the dispute was finally submitted to a board of arbitration. The board decided in favor of the Negroes.[27] As a result workers of both races were to be judged as to their fitness for their jobs by efficiency alone. Color was not to enter. Equal wages were also guaranteed for equal services. The decision was heralded as one of the most commendable and courageous ever given by the Southern board.[28] This just verdict, perhaps as much as the fact that Negro firemen usually sold their services cheaper for the same work, and at the same time waited on the white engineers, too, was instrumental in keeping this occupation open to Negroes.[29]

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[24] *Southwestern Christian Advocate* quoted in the *Colored American Magazine*, March 1905, p. 163; Reed, *A Race Between Two Straits*, p. 44.

[25] *Colored American Magazine*, June 1909, pp. 381-382.

[26] *Nation*, June 3, 1909, p. 347.

[27] *Colored American Magazine*, XV, p. 9. The Board of Arbitration consisted of Hilary H. Herbert, Chancellor Baron, of Georgia University, and Congressman Thomas Hardwick.

The few Negro locomotive engineers and conductors were chiefly in the South. A few held such important positions on the Dixie Line, a small railroad run by Negroes in Alabama. Said the New York *Times* concerning it, "Now Alabama has the first railroad in America to be conceived, promoted, built and operated by Negro people, namely the Dixie Line, running from Kawalga Community, colored, fifteen miles to Alexandria City in the eastern part of the State, where it connects with the Central of Georgia Railway." In the railroad systems of the North Negro railroad workers were chiefly porters, cleaners, and waiters.[30]

Very few Negroes, on the contrary, were employed by street railways throughout this period. Only 589 performed such labor in 1890. By 1910 this number, although increasing more than five fold to 3,159, still provided means of livelihood for comparatively few Negroes.[31] The number remained small because there was a general refusal of the companies to hire Negroes. This was especially true in the North, where Irish and Italians usually performed such work.

The whites in most instances, also, refused to work with Negro motormen and conductors. Only in isolated instances was this possible in the North.[32] Speaking in 1900 of the opposition of the whites to Negroes in these positions an observer remarked, "Of all of the cities north of the Mason and Dixon Line there are only three, Cleveland, Detroit, and Indianapolis, where street railway employees are generous enough to allow Negro men to work with them in these cities and it is on a very limited scale."[33]

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[28] "Even though it be but an act of simple justice the decision of the Georgia Railroad strike arbitrators is one of the most commendable and courageous decisions ever given by a Southern board. White firemen will not be given preference over Negroes, the same standard of intelligence and efficiency will be required for both, and Negroes will get the same pay as the whites. Under the Erdman Act this decree is final and must be accepted by both sides. Negroes now must exhibit same qualifications for jobs as whites." —*Colored American Magazine*, XV, p. 9.

[29] *Colored American Magazine*, March 1905, p. 163.

[30] New York *Times*, Monday June 15, 1914.

[31] See *Negro Population in the United States, 1790-1915*, p. 526.

[32] It was said that Negro motormen and conductors were employed on the Central Avenue cars of Cleveland, Ohio.—*Colored American Magazine*, July 1905, p. 378.

Attempts to hire Negro motormen and conductors was usually followed by a strike of the white workers. This was illustrated by the strike of the whites in Philadelphia in 1898 following the hiring of two Negro motormen by the president of the company. The white employees entered a protest and finally quit work. The result was that the president ordered the dismissal of the Negro workers. Concerning this attitude of both the employer and the labor unions, John Stephens Durham said, "At the last strike of street car conductors in Philadelphia in 1898 the question of employing colored men was presented both to the companies' managers and to the labor unions. Both sides temporized, the managers said they feared the resentment of the men and the labor unions declared that they would make no discrimination in their organization. Yet although applications have been filed for over a year no colored men are employed in this work in a community one-twentieth of whose residents are colored people."[34] "From that day to this," it was reported, "the management of no other street railway in the City of Brotherly Love has had the courage to employ colored men despite the importunities of leading citizens, both colored and white. And so it is through the entire field of desirable labor in the North—there is no place for the colored man."[35]

Speaking of the situation in Columbus, Ohio, which condition was typical, an investigator said in 1912, "The street railway company, employing hundreds of men and taking in thousands of dollars every year from Negroes in the way of fares, employs not one Negro even as a ditch digger."[36] The same attitude was manifested by the street railways of Boston, Philadelphia,[37] and other cities, none of which employed Negroes even as common laborers.

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[33] *Century Magazine*, LX, p. 478.
[34] *Ibid.*, LX, p. 478.
[35] *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 81, p. 228.

The general attitude of the white public, too, constituted a large, if not a deciding factor, in the exclusion of Negro motormen and conductors. This, according to an investigator, was mainly inspired by the possibility of friction especially between the Negro conductor and white passengers. Said he, "It is very questionable whether white passengers and Negro conductors would get on satisfactorily. In the case of conductors on street cars, inasmuch as there have been no unions till very recently, the probable attitude of white passengers is the decisive element. When account is taken of the frequent squabbles between passengers and conductors over fares, transfers, stops and what not, as well as the occasions which arise for a conductor to eject passengers because of disorder or intoxication, it is easy to foresee that serious trouble might arise if Negro conductors were employed."[38] The same author felt, however, that since motormen do not come into direct contact with the passengers, the reason that they are not employed may be attributed largely to the fault of the employer.

The few Negro motormen and conductors who were employed in such cities as Cleveland, Detroit and Indianapolis, however, belied the assumption that friction would necessarily result where Negroes thus functioned.[39] Although the attitude of the general public may have had some influence, it is more likely that the labor unions, the unwillingness of the whites to work with Negroes, and the lack of a labor reserve among Negroes, in case liberally minded owners decided to defy the whites in the event of a strike by substituting Negroes, actually account for the dearth of Negro motormen and conductors. The few Negroes employed by street railway companies in any capacity often entered as strikebreakers.[40]

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[36] The Columbus Street Car Railway Company employed hundreds of them (Negroes) up to a few years ago. They were unreliable, would work one day, get intoxicated the next, and then come back for a day or two. The Company in disgust finally said they would not employ another Negro and they have stood by their decision to this day.—Quillin, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-150.

[37] Stemons, James S., in the *Century Magazine*, LX, p. 478.

[38] Daniels, *In Freedom's Birthplace*, pp. 322-323.

[39] *Colored American Magazine*, July 1905, p. 378.

In contrast to the few Negro workers on street railways, the Negro teamsters, draymen, hackmen, and chauffeurs more than doubled between 1890 and 1910.[41] They also were the second largest group of Negro workers in trade and transportation, constituting about one-third in 1890, but a little less than that ratio in 1910. The relatively large number of Negroes employed in these menial capacities may be attributed to the Southern custom of referring to such as "Negro jobs."[42] Inasmuch as Negroes in the North and West were unable in most cases to secure employment in the factories,[43] they were glad to accept work of a rougher kind. These jobs requiring much endurance to stand outdoor work the year around, were naturally not as attractive to the whites as factory labor and hence more easily obtainable by the Negroes.[44]

This was the case in Boston, where it was said, "Negro teamsters are much in evidence. Most of them are engaged by coal companies. . . . Negro drivers of delivery wagons for many kinds of business are also a common sight."[45] In New York City there were a considerable number of teamsters, about 300 of whom were members of the teamsters union. Chicago likewise had many Negro teamsters.[46] Eight hundred Negroes and about 50,000 whites were brought in as strike breakers in the teamsters' strike in

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[40] Brandt, Lillian, *The Negroes of St. Louis* in *The American Statistical Association*, Vol. VIII, New Series, March 1903, p. 238.

[41] In 1890 these workers numbered 43,963. By 1910 this number had grown to 96,897, an increase of 52,934 or 120.4 per cent.

[42] *The Negro as an Industrial Factor*, in the *Outlook*, Vol. 62, p. 33; *Proceedings of Hampton Negro Conference*, July 1902, p. 45.

[43] The whites went into the factories, and hired Negroes to do their drudgery.

[44] No one in the North thought of the Negro as a factor in industry prior to the World War.

[45] Daniels, *In Freedom's Birthplace*, p. 346.

[46] *Southern Workman*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 397.

Chicago in 1906. About 80 Negroes retained their positions after the strikers returned.[46a] In St. Louis there were "800 Negro teamsters," according to an investigation made there in 1914.[47] The same applied to the situation in Cleveland, Cincinnati, and places in Pennsylvania.[48] The Negroes in this work in these places, as in Chicago, however, managed to increase their numbers through the medium of strike breakers.

In other cases Negroes became either independent expressmen or owners. In some instances they owned their teams; in others they hired them. Speaking of this tendency in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, one who made a survey of that city in 1899, said, "There are fifteen teamsters owning or hiring teams who make from $1.50 to $2.50 a day during six months of the year." [49] This tendency was also shown by the investigation of the Negroes in Chicago in 1906 where a considerable number of Negro expressmen were found.[50] In Ansonia, Bridgeport, and New Haven, Connecticut, several Negroes earned a living as expressmen and haulers.[50a] In the South such Negro expressmen were more or less numerous.[51] Other Negroes served here and there in these capacities and, according to numerous reports from the field, gave a good account of themselves.[52]

An increasing number of Negroes likewise tended to become chauffeurs. This class was unimportant in 1900. But with the rapid development of the automobile between 1900 and 1910, Negro chauffeurs increased correspondingly. Many of them evolved from the old hackmen, coachmen, and teamsters.[53] Most of them, however, were recruited from the younger Negroes who had become skilled in the handling of the automobile.[54] Thus in 1910 there were 4,639 Negro chauffeurs [55] and by the outbreak of the World War the number had greatly increased because of the rapid displacement of horse-drawn vehicles by automobiles. Evidence of this is shown by the fact that in 1900 there were no Negro chauffeurs in Boston. By 1910, however, according to an investigator, there were at least a hundred in Greater Boston.[56]

[46a] *The Nation*, October 5, 1901, p. 273.

[47] Crossland, *The Industrial Condition of the Negro in St. Louis*, p. 85.

[48] *Gunton's Magazine*, X, 1896, pp. 55-56.

[49] *Gunton's Magazine, ut supra.*

[50] *Southern Workman, ut supra.*

[50a] Authors' observations.

[51] U. S. Bureau of Labor, *Conditions of Negroes in the Various Cities, Bulletin No. 10*, pp. 310, 312, 3120; U. S. Bureau of Labor, *The Negroes in the Black Belt, Bulletin No. 22*, pp. 407, 408, 409.

[52] *Colored American Magazine*, Aug., 1906, p. 96.

[53] Crossland, *The Industrial Condition of the Negroes in St. Louis*, p. 65.

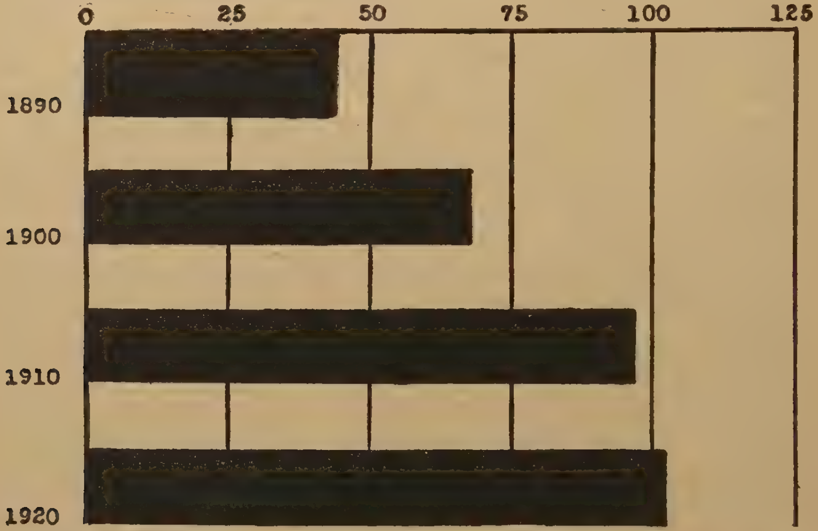

DIAGRAM 6.—INCREASE OF NEGRO TEAMSTERS, DRAYMEN, HACKMEN, CHAUFFEURS AND THE LIKE, BY THOUSANDS, FROM 1890 TO 1920.

As the Negro chauffeurs increased the hostlers, of course, tended to decrease.[57] As many of these hostlers had been stable hands, a number of them became automobile washers and polishers [58] after the passing of their former employment. A considerable number, however, were engine hostlers who were employed largely on the railroads in the South.[59] The garage, likewise, was gradually taking the place of the livery stable up to the World War. As a result Negro livery stable keepers, although showing an increase from 390 in 1890 to 509 in 1900, diminished from 509 in 1900 to 403 in 1910.[60]

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[54] Crossland, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

[55] *Negro Population in the U. S., 1790-1915*, p. 524.

[56] Daniels, *In Freedom's Birthplace*, p. 346.

[57] As evidence of the effect of the automobile in displacing hostlers it was cited that this class increased from 10,500 in 1890 to 14,496 or 38.5 per cent by 1900. Yet from 1900, however, when the use of the automobile became more general the number of hostlers fell from 14,496 in 1900 to 12,976 in 1910, a loss of 10.4 per cent.—See table in *Negro Population in the United States, 1790-1915*, p. 526.

[58] Crossland, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

The status of Negroes employed in water transportation is also of some significance. Negro boatmen, sailors, and stevedores increased very slightly between 1890 and 1910.[61] The cause of this little advance was due to the increasing competition of the whites in this field. Along the wharves and rivers where the Negro had long been employed as deckhands, stevedores, and sailors, the organization of white longshoremen's unions, especially in the South, culminated in the Negroes losing their former positions in some instances even as a result of violent attacks. The influx of the whites into this field during lack of employment as a result of the hard times following the Panic of 1893 also had a disastrous effect on the employment of Negroes.[62] In many cases the whites were given the preference and tended to replace the Negroes where it was least expected. The brutal treatment of Negro stevedores on the wharves in the South, too, may have served to make this work much less attractive. Speaking of the rough handling of these workers, an observer wrote, "The Negro roustabouts who did the loading at the wharves were perhaps the lowest class of laborers in the city and were driven about like wild beasts by their overseers. Brutality and degradation were both causes and results. One of the foremen told of a roustabout who slipped while carrying a barrel and fell into the river; the only reaction on the part of the foreman was 'look out for that man's barrel!' "[63]

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[59] *Outlook*, Vol. 92, pp. 310, 312.

[60] See *Negro Population in the United States, 1790-1915*, p. 526.

[61] There were 6,545 boatmen, sailors, and the like in 1890. By 1910 that number had increased to 7,469, an increase of only 924 or 14.1 per cent.

[62] *Atlantic Monthly*, LXXXI.

[63] *Outlook*, Vol. 62, p. 34.

In the North the Irish and other foreign stevedores kept this number of workers small. This was the case not only along the Atlantic seaboard[64] but also along the large rivers of the West.[65] Even in the border cities the work of loading and unloading ships became more and more divided between the whites and blacks.[66] So great was the influx of the whites into such jobs that there was a proportionate decline, and in order to enter this field between 1890 and 1900 Negroes were often forced to resort to strike breaking.[67] This was the case in the strike of the white longshoremen in Brooklyn in 1906 when Negroes were brought in from the South as ''scabs.'' In cities near the Mason and Dixon Line and in the South Negroes were generally taken into the longshoremen's union. Their admission was no doubt influenced by the menace of their numerical strength. In case the whites should strike Negroes could easily fill such jobs. The power of the Negroes in these unions was demonstrated in 1914 when all the white longshoremen along the waterfront at Mobile quit work in order to enforce the demand of 2,000 Negro longshoremen for more pay.[68]

It is of some importance to note also the status of Negro employees in the telegraph system. Negro telegraph and telephone linemen and operators increased between 1890 and 1910, but in 1910 there were only 1,058 telegraph and telephone linemen and but 362 telegraph and telephone operators.[69] Most of these were employed in the South, especially where the Negroes constituted most of the skilled laborers as in some parts of the Black Belt.[70] The numbers were kept small, however, chiefly because of the opposition of the white telephone and telegraph linemen's union. The effect of the inimical attitude of the unions upon the Negro linemen may be gleaned from the following statement of a Negro telephone lineman in Charleston, West Virginia. He said, "The trade that I have mastered best is that of lineman and telephone work in general but owing to such a great opposition in this section by the linemen's union to Negro labor I have been completely barred from the telephone work after having served nine years in that capacity." This was not an isolated case, according to this worker, for, said he, "My experience in this matter is the experience of others of my race." [71]

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[64] *Annals*, May 1906, p. 93.

[65] Quillin, *Color Line in Ohio*, p. 161; Crossland, *ut supra*, p. 65.

[66] Brackett, "Progress of the Colored People in Maryland Since the War," in the *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, VIII, pp. 375-376.

[67] This matter will be dealt with further in the development of this treatment.

[68] *Nation*, May 7, 1914, p. 515.

[69] See *Negro Population in the United States, 1790-1915*, p. 526.

[70] Stone, *The Negro in the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta*, p. 262.

In business Negro employees were reported as inconsequential. Negro salesmen, bookkeepers, typists, clerks, and the like, however, increased between 1890 and 1910.[72] The increase of this small class was considerable. The advance among Negro clerical workers may be largely ascribed to the gradual development of Negro business during this period. Many Negro wage earners themselves became business men and consequently employers rather than employees. Small as such enterprises were, they at least tended to open positions for such workers. Most of these persons found employment in the offices of insurance companies, real estate dealers, and stores. In Farmville, Virginia, 36 Negro proprietors were giving employment to 40 other persons in 1898.[73] The True Reformers Insurance Company of Richmond employed over 100 clerks in 1902.[74] "A department store in Chicago was employing four clerks and bookkeepers in 1906.[75] "288 Negro establishments in St. Louis afforded work for 409 members of their race in 1914." [76] A more typical case, however, was that of a Negro grocer of Tucson, Arizona, who entered that business with $90 saved from a salary of $3.00 a week.

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[71] "The Negro-American Artisan," in *The Atlanta University Publications*, No. 17, 1912, pp. 81-82.

[72] Many of the saleswomen are doubtlessly the wives of the owners, according to a survey of Negro Business by Atlanta University in 1899.

[73] U. S. Bureau of Labor, *Bulletin No. 14*, p. 17.

[74] *Proceedings of the Hampton Negro Conference*, July 1902, p. 46.

[75] *Colored American Magazine*, July 1906, pp. 27-35.

[76] Crossland, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

"Thirteen years ago," he told the members of the National Business League in 1904, "my stock represented less than $100, now it values several thousand. Thirteen years ago I had but one helper; to-day I employ on an average of seven assistants the year round excluding my wife."[77]

The number of Negro clerical workers, despite increases during this period, however, continued proportionately small. Several influences impeded the development of this class. In the first place, Negro businesses were too small to furnish employment to all of those who had prepared themselves. Hence, many Negro boys and girls equipped with such training were forced to accept menial employment. In New York City in 1906 trained Negro youths were forced to accept positions as porters, waiters, and messengers. An investigator, who made an industrial survey of the Negroes in Philadelphia in 1911, said, "Many stenographers and typewriters are forced back into domestic and personal service. One is employed in a white office; two are at home unable to secure work; one is a domestic, and one an office assistant."[78]

Negroes as a rule, too, could not secure employment as salesmen, clerks, or typists in white business offices or stores. Such positions were not open to Negroes. In Carlisle, Pennsylvania, in 1898 an investigator found that a Negro could "not find employment as a clerk; . . . to him only menial occupation is open."[79] According to Lillian Brandt, who made a survey of the Negroes in St. Louis in 1902, "Negroes cannot be employed as clerks in any of the department stores. . . ."[80] In New York Negroes as a rule were not given the opportunity of becoming clerks;[81] and in 1906, according to M. W. Ovington, many West Indian Negroes who had been trained as accountants were found in New York acting as elevator boys in the halls of business houses which they never entered.[82] In Chicago it was said in 1907 that Negroes were discriminated against as clerks and bookkeepers in large business houses.[83] In Cincinnati Negroes were not employed as stenographers, bookkeepers, or office men in 1913.[84] The same condition obtained at that time in the West and other places throughout the country.[85]

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[77] *Proceedings of the National Negro Business League*, 1904, p. 82.

[78] "Industrial Opportunities for Negroes in Philadelphia," in *Southern Workman*, XXXIX, p. 397.

[79] R. R. Wright, Jr., "The Negro in Chicago," in *Southern Workman*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 397.

[80] Brandt, *Negroes of St. Louis*, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37.

[81] Quillin, *Color Line in Ohio*, p. 161.

The refusal of white business men to hire Negroes during this period was partly due to prejudice against the Negro because of his color. The following instance is typical. Mrs. Fannie Barrier Williams, the president of the Negro Women's Business Club of Chicago, called upon the president of a certain bank in 1904 and approached him for a stenographer's position for a competent Negro girl. Said she, "He was inclined to think, and frankly told me, that he thought I was a little overstating the case, and added, with rather a triumphant air, so sure he was that I could not make good my statements as to ability, fitness, etc., 'we need a competent stenographer right here in the bank now; if you will send to me the kind of young colored woman you describe, that is thoroughly equipped, I think I can convince you that you are wrong.' I ventured to tell him that the young woman I had in mind did not show much color. He at once interrupted me by saying, 'Oh, that will not cut any figure; you send the young woman here.' I did so and allowed a long time to elapse before going to see him again. When I did call, at the young woman's request, the gentleman said with deep humiliation, 'I am ashamed to confess, Mrs. ——, that you were right and I was wrong. I felt it my duty to say to the directors that the young woman had a slight trace of Negro blood. That settled it. They promptly said, 'We don't want her, that's all.' "[86]

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[82] *Outlook*, June 23, 1906, pp. 398-399.

[83] "The Negro in the Trades Unions of New York," in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 27, No. 3, pp. 92-93.

[84] Lee, "Negroes of Carlisle, Pa.," in *Gunton's Magazine*, Vol. X, p. 64.

[85] Brandt, *The Negroes of St. Louis*, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37.

[86] *Independent*, July 1904, p. 93.

At other times white business men, who were desirous of taking on Negro clerical workers, were dissuaded from doing so because of the fear of losing their white employees in protest. In Philadelphia in 1898 it was reported that a Negro girl "well trained as a typewriter" had applied at stores and offices in vain for such work—"very sorry," they all said, but they could give her no work.[87] This same tendency was well illustrated six years later by a Chicago social worker who approached the manager of a concern where white clerks and stenographers were employed. The manager seemed so disposed toward helping the Negro, that she said, "I see you employ a large number of young women as clerks and stenographers. I have in mind some very competent young colored women who are almost on the verge of despair for suitable employment. Would you be willing to try one should you have a vacancy?" The Manager colored as he solemnly said to her, "Oh, I wish you had not asked me that question. My clerks would leave me and such an innovation would cause a general upheaval in my business."[88]

In some cases where white employers would take on Negro help they were dissuaded from so doing because in case of a strike by their white workers the Negroes could not muster sufficient trained workers to carry on the business. A rich politician employing numerous workers in Columbus, Ohio, where he was running for office, was opposed by Negro voters because he did not hire persons of their race. He silenced them by saying, "My white employees will strike if I place Negroes among them, but if you will find enough trained Negroes to take over altogether one of my plants, I will employ them." They could not find the required number.[89]

Many white proprietors refused to employ Negro clerical workers because of a desire to hire white persons whom they could later advance into the business.[90] It was thought inadvisable to encourage Negro clerks to go very high in the business world. A concrete case was related by the principal of a New York public school in 1906, who wrote, "I received a communication the other day from an electric company stating that they could use some bright clean industrious boys in their business. I suspected that they did not comprehend colored boys under the generic term 'boys,' but thought to try. So I wrote asking if they would give employment to a colored boy who could answer the qualifications stated. The next mail brought the expected reply that no colored boy, however promising, was wanted. I heaved a sigh and went on."[91] The point was that the Negro, unlike the white man starting as a menial, had no chance to advance.

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[87] *Independent*, July 1904, p. 93.

[88] DuBois, *The Philadelphia Negro*, pp. 335-336. In New York the usual reply was, "I have no objection to hiring you, but my clerks would not work with you."—Ovington, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-96.

[89] Interview with a field worker.

Although Negroes were not generally employed as assistants in white business establishments, in isolated instances they were. A Chicago Negro woman in 1901 was reported to be in charge of a department in one of the largest stores in the country.[92] In Cleveland in 1912 a Negro was manager of a large manufactory employing about one hundred white men and one hundred blacks, who seemed to work harmoniously.[93] In 1914, several of the small stores in Boston hired Negro salesmen and clerks, and in one of the large establishments it is said that there was "at least one case of a Negro in a superior position."[94]

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[90] Quillin, *Color Line in Ohio*, p. 138.

[91] Bulkeley, William L., "The Industrial Condition of the Negro in New York City," in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, May 1906, p. 129.

[92] Daniels, *In Freedom's Birthplace*, p. 322.

[93] Quillin, *Color Line in Ohio*, p. 154.

[94] "Miss Mattie Johnson is the only colored saleswoman employed in this capacity in a large department store in the United States. . . . Coming to Chicago a stranger, she sought employment in one of the large stores where Negroes were always engaged as menials. Unintroduced, she sought an interview with the manager of the Siegel, Cooper & Co. establishment. Surprised at her strict business manner he unwillingly yielded five minutes of his time to her. At the expiration of this time when he would have detained her, she was gone only to return again within a few days. Earnestly she pushed her claim and so persistent was she in her endeavors that she was given a six weeks' trial in the Hazel Pure Food Department. After the

In other instances Negro clerks were taken into white business places because of the insistence of Negroes that stores, largely patronized by them, should employ Negroes in other than menial capacities. In isolated instances such efforts bore fruit because of the desire of storekeepers to retain their Negro trade, especially where they made up a large proportion of the population. In 1900 it was said that "the white business stores of Lexington, Kentucky, were employing Negro clerks. Graves, Cox and Company set the example by employing Sam L. Tolley, who held this position a number of years. The Kaufman Clothing Company was next, having in their charge Noah Woolridge. Also Louis Adler, the shoeman, once had on to his force J. B. Caneder."[95]

Many Negroes, however, unable to advance in such business, after having learned the rudiments of it, often saved sufficient capital to open similar enterprises of their own on a smaller scale. In 1897 a Negro worker in a carpet factory opened a carpet cleaning establishment said to be doing a business of $20,000 a year.[96] A Negro in New York who had worked in the office of a real estate firm in 1912 had entered the same business himself.[97] In 1914 a man who had been a porter in a St. Louis wholesale dry goods firm, started in this line for himself.[98]

In contrast to the few Negroes serving as clerical workers in white business establishments during this period, Negroes were freely employed as errand boys, messengers, porters, helpers, and scullions in stores.[99] Between 1890

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prescribed length of time she was discharged, but again resumed her attacks upon the manager. When heartily discouraged she wrote him a polite note stating that she would not annoy him longer. He immediately sent for her and installed her in her old position."—*Colored American Magazine*, May 11, 1901, pp. 468-469.

[95] *Ibid.*, Oct., 1900, p. 330.

[96] Elwang, *Negroes of Columbia, Missouri*, p. 21; Tucker, "Negro Craftsmen in New York," *Southern Workman*, Nov., 1906, p. 550.

[97] Washington, *Negro in Business*, pp. 243, 246.

[98] Haynes, *The Negro at Work in New York City*, p. 130.

[99] Crossland, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

and 1910 Negro porters and helpers in stores more than trebled, increasing from 11,694 in 1890 to 45,256 by 1910. This work, because of small wages and long hours, did not attract the whites who aspired to the better paying and more responsible positions in mercantile places.

In the case of Negro messenger and errand boys, however, the increase was slower owing to the growing preference of many white business men for white boys and men who could later be taken into the business.[100] Some of these jobs such as messengers for banks and brokerage concerns, however, entailed considerable responsibility, and the records show that Negroes in large numbers met these requirements in every particular.

Despite the menial position usually held by the Negro in most white business places a considerable number of Negroes held clerical positions under both Federal and State governments. These were secured, however, through the civil service competitive examinations either in post offices or in other departments.[101] Even here, however, especially in the South, Negroes held such positions only in the face of constant threats from the whites. At a competitive examination for mail carriers held at Columbus, Mississippi, in 1905, Negroes were notified that if they should enter and pass the examination, they were not wanted as carriers, and through various subterfuges were kept out.

In other instances despite threats and other endeavors to keep the Negroes out of such positions they secured them by surpassing the white candidates in the examinations. In February, 1903, "a competitive examination was held for carrier service at Yazoo City. There were, strangely, more white than black men in the examination. Not a white man passed, notwithstanding there was strong evidence that the examiners were confederates with the white men. As a result, the first four carriers Yazoo City had were colored men, who still deliver the mails, although when they were appointed there were veiled hints by the white people of the county of an appeal to violence."[102]

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[100] *Annals*, May 1906, p. 129.

[101] "There were 400 Negroes in the Chicago Post Office alone in 1906."—R. R. Wright, *Negro in Chicago*, *op. cit.*, pp. 561-562.

In some cases Negroes were forced to resign such positions, especially where they had white subordinates.[103] There was also a tendency during the Taft and Wilson Administrations to force the Negro out of responsible government positions either by segregation or violence.[104] This was largely the result of the objections of Southern senators and representatives who protested against the employment of Negroes in the same rooms with whites. The ultimate aim, no doubt, was to drive the Negro out of the service altogether. This view was taken by the New York *Times* in 1913 which said, "In some departments segregation practically amounts to elimination. In the office of the auditor of the Post Office segregation seems to have been most skillfully worked out. In one room colored workmen operate what is known as the gang punch, and in another room the force working at the assorting machines is entirely colored."[105]

Demagogic Southerners of the Vardaman and Hoke Smith stripe protested against white workers taking orders from Negro superiors. Vardaman declared in 1913 that no Negro should be appointed to any executive office in which there may be subordinate white employees. Again, he demanded segregation in all offices of the Government, the entire separation of races in Federal employ. Negroes and white people must not be compelled to work side by side.[106] As a result of this opposition under a lukewarm Republican administration, and a none too friendly Democratic régime, Negro Government workers in responsible positions tended to decline.

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[102] *Colored American Magazine*, VIII, May 1905, p. 236.

[103] A Negro railway mail clerk on the Norfolk and Raleigh had a white helper. "The Congressman from the Raleigh district was asked to investigate and bring about a change. Mr. Small did investigate. He found that the outrage was one of those perversions of the merit system which make it unpopular here and there. The Civil Service Commission, that is, had actually conducted an examination for railway mail clerk on the line between Norfolk and Raleigh, N. C., without asking any questions about color of skin, eyes, or hair . . . and as it happened, a Negro had answered them better than some white men. . . . Congressman Small, we read, assured the Civil Service authorities at Washington that the people in his district and on this line of Norfolk Southern would not stand for a negro being placed in charge of a mail car with white clerks as helpers. The Commission saw the point and an order has now been issued from the railway division making the negro the 'helper.' "—*Nation*, Vol. 97, No. 2514, Sept. 4, 1913, pp. 199-200.

[104] New York *Times*, April 29, 1913; *Independent*, April 24, 1913.

[105] New York *Times*, Tuesday, Nov. 18, 1913.

Negro professional men and women while steadily increasing after 1890 constituted a very insignificant proportion of useful workers. They were less than one and one-half per cent of all Negroes gainfully employed. What increase there was, however, tended to diminish to that extent the wage earning class of Negroes.

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[106] "The decline of Negro government officials is due to the influence of Vardaman, Sharpe, Hoke Smith and other Negro hating Southerners, either upon President Wilson or upon the Negro nominee who fears to accept the position offered him because of retaliatory measures initiated by these men. Thus Mr. A. E. Patterson declines the nomination as Registrar of the Treasury tendered him by Mr. Wilson. This is the first time in a quarter of a century that it will be held by any other than a Negro."—*Nation*, August 7, 1913, p. 114.

CHAPTER VII

MANUFACTURING AND MECHANICAL PURSUITS TO 1917

In 1890 the number of Negroes in the manufacturing establishments and in other mechanical pursuits was comparatively small, roughly speaking about 200,000.[1] By 1910, however, such was the diffusion of the Negro workers along this line that the industrial group of the race almost trebled during this period. Accordingly, in 1910, more than a half million Negroes were working either as unskilled or skilled laborers in the industrial plants of the nation.[2] The comparative changes in such employment are shown in Diagram 7.

The largest increase of the Negroes in these particular lines between 1890 and 1910 took place in the lumber industry. These workers increased more than five-fold during this period and in 1910 represented more than one-fifth of all the Negroes in industry.[3] This was due in part to the ruthless exploitation of the vast forests of the South about which there was much complaint followed by the usual inaction.[4] The greatest impetus to this industry, however, was the Dingley Tariff of 1897 which by imposing a duty of

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[1] The number according to the United States Census of 1890 was 208,374. Elsewhere a different figure is given when certain classes were not included.

[2] According to the United States Census for 1910 the total number was 552,815. The proportion of all Negro workers which these laborers constituted had increased from 6.8 per cent in 1890 to 10.6 per cent in 1910. Thus while in 1890 one out of every 15 Negroes earned his living in industry, by 1910 one out of every 10 was so classified.—U. S. Bureau of Census, *Negro Population in the U. S., 1790-1915.* Compare United States Census, *Report on Occupations*, 1910.

[3] In 1890 the Negroes engaged in the lumber industry numbered 22,285. By 1910 the number had increased to 122,216, an increase of 99,931 or 448.4 per cent.—U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Negro Population in the U. S., 1790-1915*, p. 527.

[4] *Savannah, Her Trade, Commerce, and Industries*, published by John E. Land; *Southern Industries Magazine*, 1883, May to December, *passim.*

$2 a 1,000 feet upon foreign lumber stimulated a rapid expansion of the industry.[5] The result was the springing up of a large number of lumber mills in the South. The Negroes, because of the heavy, rough work to be performed were generally preferred as common laborers. In this capacity it was said that they had no superiors. This hard work, too, was distasteful to the whites.[6] The small wages, 50 cents to 75 cents a day, however, partly account for this monopoly of the Negroes in these factories.

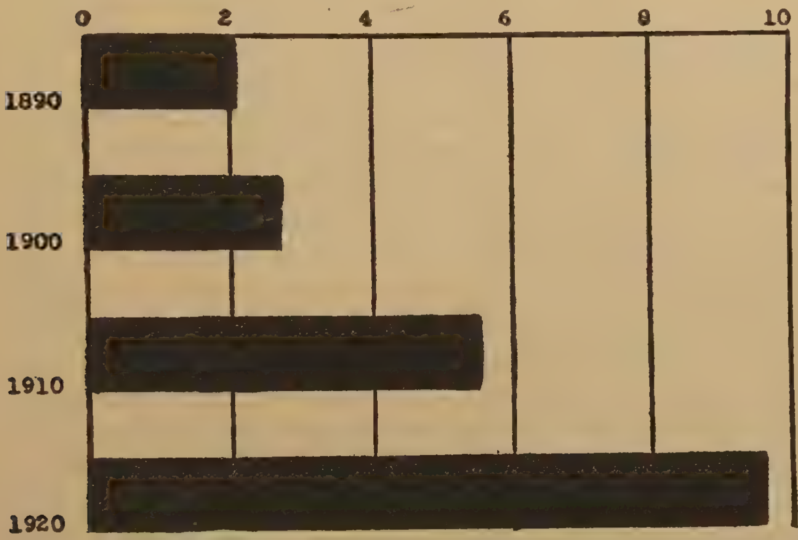

DIAGRAM 7.—COMPARATIVE NUMBERS OF NEGROES IN MANUFACTURING AND MECHANICAL PURSUITS, BY HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF WORKERS, 1890 TO 1920.

In the saw and planing mills the Negroes and whites usually worked together. Thus in a North Carolina lumber mill in 1902 out of 150 employees 135 were Negroes;[7] a large mill in Arkansas in the same year employed 150 persons, 75 of whom were Negroes; in Louisiana another mill employed 250 Negroes out of 500 employees;[8] in a stave factory in South Carolina all the 129 workers except four were Negroes.[9] In some woodworking factories Negro laborers were employed exclusively. According to an investigator of the Negroes in the Black Belt in 1899, two large chair factories in Marietta, Georgia, employed practically none but Negro workmen. The work was light and much of it was done in the homes.[10] In the smaller woodworking plants, such as barrel or stave factories, Negroes were frequently employed in preference to the whites. In some instances this was due to the fact that the managers found the Negroes more reliable as workmen than the whites. According to an investigator, "A barrel manufacturer at Jonesboro, Alabama, said he employed Negroes because he found it difficult to get white men who would work steadily."[11]

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[5] Coman, *Industrial History of the U. S.*, p. 319.

[6] "Of course, as far as unskilled labor is concerned there is no competition between the white and colored here. That is controlled exclusively by the colored men."—*Report of the U. S. Industrial Commission*, VII, p. 554.

[7] *The Tradesman*, October 15, 1902, p. 54.

In other mills such as woodworking, furniture, wagon and carriage factories Negroes were performing semi-skilled and skilled labor. Among these artisans were sawyers, trimmers, turners, cabinet makers, edgers, block setters, ax men, planers, cutters, finishers, and others. This fact is attested by the employers themselves. A mill owner of North Carolina reported in 1902 that "out of 135 Negroes 50 were performing skilled labor as firemen, saw setters, edgemen, trimmers, girders, train men and sawyers." They were considered as skillful as the whites. In Arkansas 50 out of 75 Negroes were running machines and serving in other skilled capacities. They were earning from $1.25 to $4.00 a day.[11a] In Virginia a large woodworking concern reported 235 Negro hands, of whom 175 were semi-skilled workers."[12]

Negroes, however, were often handicapped in securing skilled labor in the lumber mills and woodworking plants by the prevalent opinion that they were incompetent to perform such tasks. Said a large employer of Negro laborers in 1891, "The Negro is the best common laborer, but he cannot acquire the skill of the white man—at least he don't." According to another, "When muscle alone is wanted, we find good Negro labor very efficient, but when some degree of judgment is to be exercised, we prefer white labor."[13] These opinions, however, cannot be applied generally, for in some plants all the work, both unskilled and skilled, according to factory owners, was performed by Negroes, as already shown above.

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[8] *Ibid.*, p. 55.

[9] *The Tradesman*, October 15, 1902, p. 55

[10] United States Bureau of Labor, *Bulletin No. 22*, May 1899, p. 413.

[11] "The Negro as an Industrial Factor" in *The Outlook*, May 1899, p. 32.

[11a] *Tradesman*, Oct. 15, 1902, p. 54.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 54.

One of the most skilled positions in the lumber mill was that of sawyer. It was likewise highly desirable because of the large wages paid for this work. There were 2,668 Negro sawyers in 1910, some of whom earned from $4 to $6 a day.[14] The high daily remuneration sometimes resulted in a large turnover among these men. Speaking of this, E. H. Holmes of the Prairie View Normal School in Texas, said in 1901, "I have in mind one man who has been with a certain firm for 18 years. In fact he has been with the company so long and has given such faithful service, the managers have forgotten that he is a Negro. He is now a competent sawyer and receives $6.00 a day. The sawyers' place at these mills is perhaps the best paying place of all, outside the management. The wages run from $4.50 to $6.00, according to skill. The places are open to Negroes and occasionally they take them, but after working for 10 or 12 months they conclude that they have made enough to retire. The job is too steady."[15]

At other times the class consciousness of the whites barred the Negroes from such work. Such was the case at Jonesboro, Alabama, in 1899, where a stave factory was operated by white men only. When asked by an investigator why he hired no Negro help the employer expressed the general feeling when he replied, "People don't think it right to employ Negro labor when there is white to be had." "This," continued the investigator, "was the universal feeling among those who did not hold that the hiring of labor was purely a matter of cents and not sentiment. So strong was this feeling among the farmers that when a manufacturer named Adams opened a stave factory in competition with Molochs and attempted to run it with Negro labor the farmers would not sell him lumber. Moloch's factory, I am told, was just lined with bolts, but Adams couldn't buy any at all unless he shipped them in on the railroad, and that was too expensive. Nobody would sell and he just had to give up. He didn't hire white labor, but he sold out to a man who has never hired anything else." Commenting upon this novel procedure, the investigator said, "Boycotts, where the boycotters refused to buy have been common enough ever since our Revolutionary fathers set the example. But a boycott where Anglo-Saxon men refused to sell is novel in our annals. No mixed motives of sentiment and economy could be counted upon to keep it alive. It was pure self-sacrifice in behalf of a cause."[16]

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[13] *The Nation,* Sept. 17, 1891, p. 209; *The Tradesman,* October 15, 1902, pp. 54-55.

[14] *The Negro Artisan,* p. 101.

[15] *Ibid.,* p. 101.

In mining the story is a little different. There was a large increase in the number of Negro miners between 1890 and 1910.[17] This was brought about by several causes. Among them was the exploitation of the iron and coal beds of Alabama, Tennessee and Georgia, where the abundance of cheap Negro labor on the nearby farms easily permitted its introduction in these mines. In fact, in some cases Negroes were the chief laborers in this industry. According to a traveler in the nineties, they virtually monopolized the labor in the iron mines.[18]

The work in the coal mines, however, was divided between the whites and Negroes. Speaking of the preponderance of Negro laborers in the mines in the late nineties a traveler and investigator said that in the larger iron and coal mines of northern Alabama, Tennessee, and Georgia, where both metals are found in close proximity the labor is mainly black. "The Negroes dig all the iron ore and do all the rough work at the furnaces. The coal is mainly dug by white men. The very great quantities of limestone that are quarried for smelting flux and for building work are taken out by Negroes."[19]

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[16] *The Outlook*, May 1899, p. 32. This case is typical. The militant majority in the South crushes the liberal minority.

[17] See *Negro Population in the United States, 1790-1915*, pp. 526-527.

[18] *The Tradesman*, October 15, 1902, p. 53.

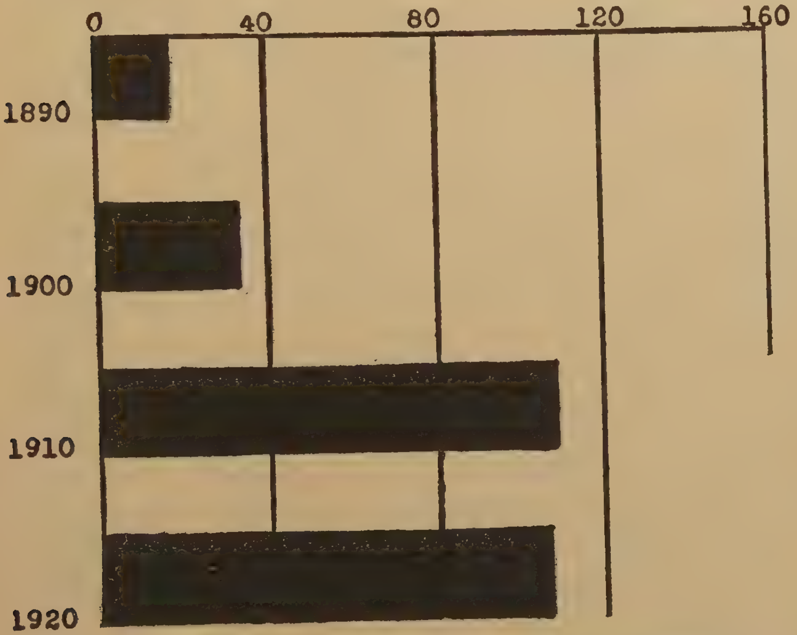

DIAGRAM 8.—COMPARATIVE NUMBERS OF NEGROES IN LUMBER, SAW AND PLANING MILLS, BY THOUSANDS OF WORKERS, 1890 TO 1920.

Negroes were freely introduced into iron and coal mines in the South because this kind of work required much physical strength and endurance. This is borne out by an officer of a large Alabama mining concern in 1902 who said the labor in the ore mines "is almost entirely colored, not on account of the particular adaptability of the work, but because it is excessively arduous . . . the white labor cannot stand up to much of the work done by the Negroes on account of climatic conditions."[20] In the coal mines, although the whites outnumbered the Negroes, a large number of the latter were employed. In the same year one company alone in Alabama employed 400. The Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad Company, the largest employers of Negro labor in the South, had a considerable number of Negroes working as coal miners throughout this entire period. In 1902 when 4,200 white coal miners went on strike the company was virtually dependent upon the Negro miners for its supply.[21]

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[19] *Harper's Magazine*, Vol. 90, p. 612.

Another reason for the increase in the Negro miners was the cheapness of Negro labor. As early as 1899, one who had studied the rise of the mineral industries in the South, considered the Negro a vital element in its development. Said he, "The continued presence of Negro labor in such great force in the Southern States is 'providential.' The Negro's brawn and muscle, his cheap labor, and his acquaintance and characteristic contentment with his surroundings are considered as a large element in the early prospective growth of Southern coal and iron industry."[22] Circumscribed in a small place in the industrial system by the competition of the whites, Negroes in many instances were forced to work for less pay in order to secure jobs. It was for this reason equally as much as for the shortage of labor in the West Virginia mines that many Negroes during this period were taken into the coal mines of that state.[23] These miners were recruited largely from farm hands who were eager for a change to better their economic condition. Thus Carl Kelsey found in 1903 that many of these Negroes had left Virginia for work in the coal mines of West Virginia. In 1905, another writer, speaking of the lack of farm laborers in the Black Belt, concluded that many of them had deserted the fields for the mines.[24] In 1900, according to a report of a worker to Atlanta University, there were about 8,000 or 10,000 Negro miners in the Flat Top coal fields and about the same number of white miners. All were members of the United Order of Mine Workers on the same terms as the whites.[25]

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[20] *The Tradesman*, October 15, 1902, p. 52.

[21] Ralph, Julian, "Industries of Northern Alabama," in *Harper's Magazine*, Vol. XC, pp. 614-615.

[22] *Harper's*, XC, pp. 614-615.

[23] Dowd, Jerome, "Cheap Labor in the South," in *Gunton's Magazine*, Feb., 1900, p. 117; *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Jan., 1898, p. 193.

Negroes also went as strikebreakers to the newly opened mines of Arkansas during this period. In order to prevent Negroes from entering the State the whites appealed to the local courts, alleging that the owners would import armed men of low and lawless character. Governor Jones, then, came to the support of the white miners and issued several proclamations against importing such persons into the State. This proclamation aimed at the Negro strikebreakers not sufficing, the miners appealed to the judiciary, whereupon the judge of a local court granted an injunction restraining the companies from bringing in such men in contravention of the proclamation of the Governor. The owners thereupon carried the case to the Federal Court of Arkansas on the grounds that such an injunction against the free movement of labor from one State to another was unconstitutional. The contention of the owners was upheld by the court. The *Nation* said in commenting on this decision, "Judge Rogers of the Federal Court has laid down the broad principle that under the Constitution of the United States, no State has the right to prohibit the citizens of another State from entering it in search of work. He points out that the fourteenth amendment guarantees equal protection to all, and he holds that under that amendment persons have a perfect right to go from one State into another in the pursuit of employment, and it is not within the power of a State to stop them so long as they do not belong to certain interdicted classes, like convicts, idiots, lepers and persons afflicted with contagious diseases."[26]

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[24] Fleming, in *Political Science Quarterly*, XX, 1905, p. 279.

[25] "The Negro Artisan," in *Atlanta University Publications*, No. 7, 1902, p. 150.

Another thing which tended to increase the number of Negroes employed in the mines was their non-union affiliation. Thus when Negroes in large numbers were taken as strike breakers into the coal mines of the Border and Western States it was said that they were preferred to foreigners because they were not organized and, therefore, did not make trouble in collective bargaining.[27] The number of

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[26] *The Nation*, September 14, 1899, p. 198.

[27] In this instance Negro miners who had been brought to the mines the year before and who had subsequently become unionized joined the whites in an attempt to prevent the Negro strikebreakers from reaching the mines. Another bloody encounter occurred at Fredonia, Illinois. Says *The Independent:* "On (June) 30th (1899), another party of Negroes were attacked at Fredonia, Ill., by strikers, who killed one of the colored workmen and the wife of another. The superintendent of Brush mines, which are located at Carterville, was bringing a carload of Negroes from Pana to his mines and the train stopped at Fredonia station for a few minutes. There a large party of striking union miners, some of whom were Negroes, who came to the mines from the South last year, opened fire upon the car with rifles, killing one man and one woman—for the Negroes on the train were accompanied by their families—and wounding not less than twenty other members of the traveling party. The train then proceeded to its destination. That night the imported Negroes, armed with rifles, attacked the union miners at their homes in Union City, drove them into the woods, and burned their houses. On the first inst. Senator Warder, acting Governor, sent two companies of militia to Carterville."—*Independent*, LI, part II, 1790.

In some instances the violent means taken to bar the Negroes from the mines had the expressed sanction of public officials and also the military. Especially was this the case in the strike at Pana in Christian County, Illinois, in 1898. In this strike both the Governor and the commander of the State troops were determined that imported Negroes should not operate the mines under any consideration. According to the *Nation:* "Last fall a strike broke out among white miners of Pana in Christian County near the center of the State, and operators brought in blacks from Alabama, as they had a perfect right to do under the laws of Illinois and the Constitution of the United States. The Governor refused to protect these black citizens in their right to earn a living, issued orders that 'under no circumstances should any Negro from another State be allowed to enter Pana' and announced that he would 'blow to pieces with Gatling guns' any such body of laborers who might thereafter try to enter Illinois. State troops were sent to Pana, very tardily, to preserve order, but their commander, taking his cue from the Governor, declared that 'If I lose every man under my command, no Negroes shall land in Pana.' Tanner enjoined the troops that they were, "under no consideration to assist the mine owners in operating mines with imported labor," and the natural consequence was disorder, rioting, and abuse of the blacks by the whites for a long period."—*Nation*, LXIX, p. 216.

At the Brush Mines, Carterville, Illinois, in the same year, trouble broke out when Negroes were brought in from the South to break a strike. Troops were sent to preserve order. The miners remonstrated against the use of the troops. The Secretary of the United Mine Workers Union telegraphed the Governor protesting against the use of troops there on the ground that the sheriff had not exhausted his resources to preserve order. Largely due to the influence of the labor union and the sympathetic attitude of the

Negro miners was rapidly increased by the employment of Negroes in the coal mines of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Iowa. In each instance the Negroes went as strikebreakers. These workers were usually brought in from the South and were glad of an opportunity to enter an industry where they could command higher wages than those offered on the farms. To work in these mines of the West under these circumstances required much physical courage, for to bar them from working the strongly organized white miners resorted to every means including injunctions, threats, violence, and even bloodshed. Thus when Negroes were brought into the Indiana mines in 1899 to replace striking whites they were fired upon from ambush. Five were shot down including the white man in charge of them. And thus it happened in many other cases, but the Negroes continued to come into these districts in spite of the attacks.[27a] As a result, the number of Negro miners increased from 19,007 in 1890 to 60,598 in 1910. Most of these Negro miners, 39,567, worked in coal mines, the majority of them, 28,976, being miners. There were 3,442 iron miners. The others ranged from common laborers to foremen. Among them in 1910 were 200 foremen, overseers, and inspectors, and 17 managers.

The Negroes employed in the iron and steel industry likewise increased between 1890 and 1910. For this various reasons may be given. In the South Negro labor was generally preferred by the white factory owners for the common work in the iron and steel mills, because of the greater

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Governor and the troops toward the strikers, the soldiers were removed. A few days later broke out a riot in which five blacks were killed. *Ibid*, p. 216.

Another interesting advent of the Negro miner into the Western coal fields centered about Buxton, Iowa, which was in the richest coal mining belt of the State. Here, again, the Negro was brought in as a strikebreaker. The strike was broken and the Negroes were retained. They then proceeded to form a union of their own, being quick to see the advantage of collective bargaining. The Negroes, according to an investigator in 1907, comprised "93 per cent of Buxton's 5,000 population and . . . there is no more thoroughly organized miners' union than the Buxton camp." Upon the exhaustion of the coal there the place has been deserted and this town of which we once heard so much has become a reminiscence.—See the *Colored American Magazine*, January 1906, p. 767.

[27a] *Ibid.*, p. 767.

endurance and physical strength of the race.[28] The work, especially at the furnaces, was so hot that it was said that white men could not stand the heat as well as Negroes.[29] This preference for Negro workers in such a rôle was substantiated by a poll of 500 manufacturers in 1891 and 1902 employing 12,840 men, most of whom were unskilled. Virtually all these employers were united in saying that "the Negro is without a superior for heavy work calling for endurance." [30] According to another Southern manufacturer the Negroes as common laborers "in almost every instance are preferable to the Southern whites." [30a]

The increase in the Negro iron and steel workers, too, is merely history repeating itself. As already shown in other cases, this resulted mainly from their not being unionized and the cheapness of their labor which could be used for breaking strikes.[31] In 1900 it was asserted that the erstwhile farm laborers were glad to receive from 75 cents to $1.00 a day. In a large blast furnace in Alabama where 250 Negroes were employed in 1902, the unskilled laborers were paid from 75 cents to $1.50 a day. In Virginia Negroes received from 50 cents to $1.00 a day. The wages in Kentucky varied from $1.00 to $1.25 a day.[32] The South, moreover, was a little late in responding to the great stimulus to industry which developed in the East, North, and West as a result of the influx of capital into those sections for railroad construction, agricultural expansion, and manufacturing. The South, then, could not immediately compete with other parts in compensating labor. Accustomed to pay mainly for agricultural work, the South had to awaken gradually to the idea of offering much higher wages in the shop than in the field. This change finally came a generation ago, however, and in the proportion as the distinction was made the Negroes went into industry.

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[28] *Baltimore Manufacturers Record*, Sept. 22, 1893, pp. 130-135; *The Tradesman*, July 1902.

[29] *The Outlook*, May 1899, pp. 31-37.

[30] *The Tradesman*, July 28, 1902.

[30a] *Hampton Negro Conference*, July 1900, p. 25.

[31] There is available much evidence to this effect. See *Report of the United States Industrial Commission*, VII, p. 62.

[32] *The Tradesman*, Oct. 15, 1902, pp. 52, 54, 55.

Equally effective, too, was the increased demand for iron and steel, especially after 1900, and the installation of labor saving machinery which, although tending to reduce the number of skilled laborers, nevertheless, tended to increase the demand for unskilled workers.[33] In Richmond it was reported in 1899 that 2,000 Negroes were employed in the iron works there, chiefly as common laborers with only here and there a master mechanic.[34] In Anniston, Alabama, 450 to 500 Negroes were employed in a cast iron pipe factory. According to the *Tradesman* of October, 1902, a large machinery-making plant in Georgia employing 275 persons had 80 Negroes on its payroll. In Alabama reports were received from two foundries, one of which hired 400 Negroes; the other 250. In a plant in Tennessee 64 out of 160 were Negroes.[35] At Anniston and Birmingham, Alabama, "many thousands of colored men were employed in the production of coke, pig iron, steel and castings." Negroes constituted virtually all the workers in these factories, it was said, with the exception "of the superintendents and machinists."[36]

Travelers in the South during this period also supported the conclusion that the Negro was primarily an unskilled laborer in the Southern steel factories. General Armstrong, of Hampton Institute, en route to San Francisco in the summer of 1891, marveled at the large number of Negroes who were thus employed in the shops of the Southern Pacific Railroad at Houston, Texas;[37] a writer for the *Outlook* noticed in 1899 that in Birmingham in the foundries of the Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad Company the Negroes performed the work in the intense heat of the furnaces.[38]

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[33] Fitch, *The Steel Industry*, pp. 3-4.

[34] *Proceedings, Hampton Conference*, July 1899, p. 19.

[35] *The Tradesman*, October 15, 1902, pp. 52, 53.

[36] "Letter from the Richmond Locomotive Works," in *Proceedings, Hampton Negro Conference*, July 1900, p. 23; *Nation*, July 1891, p. 38.

[37] *The Nation*, July 1891, p. 38.

[38] *The Outlook*, May 6, 1899, pp. 31-32.

For years thereafter, too, the Negro still was relegated chiefly to the hard and undesirable labor in the South, such as heavy mill and foundry work.[39] On the eve of the World War another traveler and historian found that the Negro in the iron and steel foundries of the South "performs chiefly the rough work which in the North was once performed chiefly by Irishmen, later by Italians, and now in many places by Slavs."[40]

Not all of these Negroes, however, performed unskilled labor. Some of them either worked at skilled labor or held positions as foremen over Negro gangs. Skilled laborers in the iron and steel factories in the South included molders, puddlers, fillers, heaters, rollers, roughers, catchers, core workers, and straighteners. In the Cahill Iron Works of Chattanooga, Tennessee, Negroes were satisfactorily employed as molders in 1900. Speaking of their efficiency, the company reported, "Our experience with Negro molders has been very satisfactory. We have found them to be very good workmen."[41] A large blast furnace in Alabama in 1902 had "50 skilled Negroes" among its 250 blacks. These were "helpers, meter gaugers, firemen, sand cutters, molders, and top fillers. They received from $1.25 to $2 a day. A cast iron pipe factory in the same state had 25 skilled Negroes among its employees who "ran cranes and poured iron." Another Alabama factory owner reported that of 64 Negroes "40 were skilled laborers." "Their work," he stated, "is principally molding and foundry work." Out of 80 Negroes in a Georgia plant in 1902 twenty-five were skilled or semi-skilled. "They are blacksmiths, core makers, boiler makers, helpers, etc."[42] All these men were reported as rendering satisfactory service. Another writer in the *Moulders Journal* estimated that in 1902 there were over 200 Negro molders, although he did not regard them as skillful mechanics. He did admit, however, that there were foundries where the molding was "done entirely by Negroes—three if we include the Ross-Mehan annex in Chattanooga. There is the one at the foot of Lookout Mountain, and another in Rome, Georgia."[43] The skilled Negro workers in the iron and steel mills in the South, of course, increased very slowly. This was due largely to the preference given to the skilled white labor by the mill owners, many of whom felt that the skilled labor in these plants should be left to the whites.[44]

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[39] In the case of scarcity of labor only could the Negroes go higher up in the skilled pursuits.

[40] Hart, *The Southern South*, pp. 120-121.

[41] *Proceedings, Hampton Negro Conference*, July 1900, p. 25.

[42] *The Tradesman*, October 15, 1902, pp. 53, 55.

The Negroes' own lack of industrial training likewise had an effect in retarding the advance of these artisans in the iron and steel industries. The testimony concerning the technical ability of Negro molders, boiler makers, and machinists, as reported by the whites, is often contradictory. The result of two studies of the Negro artisan made by Atlanta University in 1902 and 1912, however, showed that although some of the Negro artisans were progressive, efficient workmen, more were careless, slovenly and ill trained.[45] Similar surveys made by others in later years have tended to confirm the findings of these two nationwide investigations.

The labor unions such as the Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders and the International Association of Machinists, which barred Negroes from membership, also aided in reducing Negro skilled workers. White union machinists and boiler makers refused to work with Negroes. This attitude is well illustrated by the reply of a labor official, a machinist by trade, before the United States Industrial Commission, in 1900. When asked whether he had ever worked in a shop with a Negro machinist, he responded, "No, sir, I have never worked in a shop with a Negro as a machinist." "Would you not?" "No, sir, I would not."[46]

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[43] *The Negro Artisan,* No. 7, p. 179.
[44] *The Nation,* March 24, 1892, p. 227.
[45] *The Negro Artisan,* No. 7, p. 188.
[46] *Report of the United States Industrial Commission,* Vol. VIII, p. 68.

Negro skilled workers in iron and steel, then, remained few in number throughout this period. The causes were the conviction that skilled labor should be performed by whites, the preference of the Negroes for unskilled labor, the opposition encountered by Negroes among the white workmen in labor unions, and their own relative industrial inexperience. In 1910, therefore, according to the United States Census reports there were only 475 Negro steam boiler makers and 3,120 machinists. Most of these were in the South.

In the North, the place of the Negroes in the iron and steel industry was comparatively small. This was due in part to the fact that the unskilled labor for which the Negroes were so generally employed in the South was performed in the North chiefly by Hungarians, Poles, Russians and Italians.[47] These foreigners had largely supplanted the native Americans and Irish in the rough work in the mills.[48] They quickly unionized and early became a barrier to the introduction of the Negroes into these industrial plants. So evident was this in the North that it became difficult for Negroes to secure jobs in any large factory. Speaking of the effect upon Negro workers by such unions, a writer in *The Nineteenth Century Magazine* remarked, "The task of earning a livelihood is difficult for the Negro in the North and West because nearly every branch is controlled by labor movements and the Negro is thus cut off from earning an honest living in the industrial world."[49]

Prejudice of both white employer and employees, moreover, many times tended to keep the Negro out of such mills and factories in the North even where unions were not effective.[50] To illustrate this attitude a New Jersey manufacturer of tools and hardware said in 1903, "We have no Negroes in our employ, not from any prejudice on our part but we do not think our men would make it agreeable to them." Another manufacturer of metal goods in the same State also said, "We have no Negroes in our employ but do not object to them. If we should refuse to employ them it would be solely to avoid the risk of friction between them and white workmen." Some of the owners, however, refused to hire Negroes in iron and steel factories because of their personal prejudice against them. Said the owner of a boiler factory in 1903, "We never have, nor should we ever, employ Negroes such as are to be found in this quarter."[51]

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[47] Jenks and Lauck, *The Immigration Problem*, p. 151.

[48] Fitch, *The Steel Industry*, pp. 3-4; Hart, *The Southern South*, pp. 120-121.

[49] Tobias, D. E., "Position of the Negro in America," in *The Nineteenth Century Magazine*, Vol. 46, p. 970.

[50] *Century Magazine*, Vol. LX, p. 478.

Despite these obstacles, however, the Negroes in Northern steel factories tended to increase between 1890 and 1910. This was due in part to the continued migration of Negroes to Northern industrial centers, such as Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Newark, Cleveland, Chicago, St. Louis, and Indianapolis between 1890 and 1910, but especially between 1900 and 1910. The rate of urbanization among Negroes between these years was almost twice that for the preceding decade. As a result many cities in the North, like those mentioned above, showed surprising increases in their population. Most of these Negroes were either lured North by the promise of better wages and social advantages, or were carried there to supplant dissatisfied workers.[52]

It was in the capacity of strike breakers that Negroes found their best opportunity to enter the Northern iron and steel industry. It was in this way, as has been pointed out above, that they entered the coal and iron fields of the West. In some cases the rôle of strike breakers constituted the sole entering wedge for the Negroes into Northern industrial establishments. It was in this manner that Negroes entered the large steel factories in Sharpsburg, Pennsylvania, in 1899. In 1900 the Midvale Steel Company, of Philadelphia, brought hundreds of Negroes from Virginia to work in its plants. By the end of 1900 there were estimated to be between 800 and 1,000 Negroes thus employed. In Washington, Indiana, where a contract had been made between employer and workers not to hire Negroes in any capacity, the latter were finally introduced after a period of twenty years following a strike by the white workmen.[53]

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[51] *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor and Industries*, New Jersey, 1903, p. 190.

[52] *Independent*, July 1899, p. 1790; *The Nation*, Sept. 14, 1899, p. 198; *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. XX, p. 279.

It was largely a result of the introduction of the Negroes as strike breakers in the iron and steel factories of St. Louis that the Negroes increased their numbers from 213 in 1900 to 1,644 in 1914.[54] In these instances the Negroes replaced striking foreigners who had become vile. According to one who made an industrial survey of the Negroes of that city in 1914, "Their entrance into the foundries depended upon a combination of circumstances which made it necessary that this labor be utilized. Iron and steel foundry owners have had much trouble with their white employees, since the rise of the trade unions. Frequent strikes were called which interferred with the output of the plants. The employers retaliated with lockouts, using non-union immigrant labor, and so the war went on. The immigrants were used in large numbers for all types of foundry work. As time went on the native whites yielded their places to the Irish and Germans who in turn advanced in the industrial scale and were followed by Hungarians, Poles, and various Slavic groups. The work was unskilled, and required no previous training. Occasionally white employers would hire a Negro for the most dangerous and disagreeable tasks, which white men had refused to perform. As time went on even the foreigners would strike for higher wages and for the recognition of their interests. Employers had but one last source of unskilled labor and they utilized it. The Negro was introduced." [55]

During the earlier years, too, the use of Negroes in some of these establishments continued as a result of opposing progress. A number of poorly equipped plants were reluctant to introduce modern machinery at high cost when with very cheap labor the same product could be manufactured in the old fashioned way. While such a mediæval program might impede the progress of these conservative owners they could go on in their backward way, doing apparently as well as in former years. In most of these cases no change was made until so many improvements followed that the reorganization of such plants on the basis of highly skilled labor and increased efficiency came as the alternative of their discontinuance. With the change the Negroes were usually reduced to drudgery and the whites undertook the mechanization of the industry. Yet the whole number of Negroes in these centers increased.[56]

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[53] *Report of the U. S. Industrial Commission*, XIV, p. 353; *Negro Artisan*, p. 88.

[54] Crossland, *Industrial Conditions of Negroes in St. Louis*, p. 74.

[55] *Ibid.*, p. 74.

This rise of the Negro laborer in the iron and steel industries in the North was due, also, to the increased demand for iron which made additional demands upon unskilled labor. As a result many Negroes left the South for work in the Northern factories. Speaking of this tendency an observer remarked in 1900, "Iron workers are being paid more for labor in consequence of the increased demand for iron and inducements offered local workmen at the Carnegie Works in Pittsburgh. A large number of Negroes from Knoxville went there in the early spring."[57]

Most of these Negroes in the iron and steel industry were unskilled workers. By 1910, however, through the medium largely as strike breakers, Negroes were used in several of the skilled processes in the iron and steel factories. Thus in the Black Diamond Steel Works near Pittsburgh Negroes were used in several skilled departments as die grinders, plumbers, engineers, and in the crucible melting department. The employment of the Negro in the mill is interesting as manifesting the courageous stand of an owner who determined there should be no color line in his plants.

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[56] This was very much like the industrial history of England. See A. P. Usher's *Introduction to the Industrial History of England, passim.*

[57] "The Negro in Unskilled Labor," in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* September 1913, p. 24.

Thus when Irish puddlers struck because of the introduction of Negro workers, the whites were dismissed and the Negroes retained.[58]

The same was happening elsewhere. Out of 33 Negroes in a machinery-making factory in New Jersey in 1903 fifteen were draughtsmen, core makers and chippers. In a huge iron foundry in the same State employing 5,985 men, 41 were Negroes; of these 19 were molders.[59] In a third machinery-making factory, out of 70 Negroes employed in a total of 133 two were lathe hands. In the largest steel casting plant in St. Louis, the Negroes fared a little better. "Repeated strikes," to quote the author, "curtailed the output. As a last resort Negroes were advanced to better positions to fill the places of the strikers. It was not long before they became efficient enough to enter every department of work except the pattern, electrical and machine room. They had begun as common laborers, firemen, roughers and chainers, but some became rammers, shippers, core makers, molders, molders' helpers and cupola tenders. During July 1912, when the cranemen struck in sympathy with the pattern makers, these positions were given to the Negroes. In passing through the foundry one sees all the cranes of every size and capacity manned by Negroes." [60]

Other skilled Negroes connected with the iron and steel industry were small. Sheet metal workers were very scarce among Negroes. It was said that the greatest skill was required for such work. Yet the Negroes were able to become proficient even in this highly skilled trade, for the Sheet Metal Union which barred the Negro from such work in the North reported that there were a limited number employed in the South. Two Negro locals were cited at Charleston, South Carolina, and Savannah, Georgia. It was said that these Negroes received smaller pay than the white workers, which no doubt explains their opportunity to work at the trade. They were barred generally[61] by the white unions, it was said, both because of lack of skill and on account of color.

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[58] *The Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 81, p. 229.

[59] *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor and Industries of New Jersey*, 1903, p. 187.

[60] Crossland, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

A smaller number of Negroes were also employed in car and railroad factories, automobile plants, and shipbuilding establishments. In the South, the Negroes were used for both skilled and unskilled labor in the car and railroad shops. In one large railroad shop in the South where both Negroes and whites were employed no discrimination was practiced, but both whites and blacks were employed on a perfect equality and paid according to their ability. Several hundred Negroes were employed in such shops in Richmond.[62]

A few thousand Negroes were also engaged in shipbuilding. In one of the largest shipbuilding yards in the country, the Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company, which in 1902 employed over 5,000 persons, two-thirds of this number were Negroes. The company was disposed to place Negro mechanics whenever and wherever it could employ them. Not only did this company hire Negroes in all capacities but even took Negro boys as apprentices to the trades. It was said also that the boy who was learning his trade, "received considerably more wages a month than the average farm hand."[63]

A much smaller number were employed in the Northern shipbuilding yards. In New Jersey three shipbuilding concerns employing thousands of laborers had only 65 Negroes on their payroll.[64] All were common laborers except one, who was a blacksmith. By 1910 there were 4,347 Negroes engaged in the shipbuilding industry.

Negroes had also entered the automobile industry by

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[61] *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor and Industries of New Jersey*, 1903, p. 204.

[62] *Proceedings of the Hampton Negro Conference*, July 1902, p. 45; *Nation*, July 1, 1891, p. 38.

[63] *Ibid.*, p. 45.

[64] *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor and Industries of New Jersey*, 1903, p. 187.

1910. This was a new field for the race, for the development of the automobile took place largely in the first decade of the twentieth century. There were only 569 such employees in 1910, nearly all of whom were common laborers, porters, sweepers or janitors.[65]

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[65] *Negro Population in the United States, 1790-1915*, p. 526.

CHAPTER VIII

SMALLER NUMBERS IN OTHER INDUSTRIES

In marked contrast to the rise of Negro workers in the several industries just noted was their failure to make any appreciable gains in other important fields. Among these should be mentioned the textile industries in which the status of such workers did not seem to improve. This condition obtained, too, despite the fact that the greatest advance in textile manufacturing was taking place in the South throughout this period. The reasons for the exclusion of the Negro from the textile mills, in which he had been satisfactorily employed during the antebellum days, therefore, merit more than a passing inquiry.

The slow progress in this field, as already pointed out in others, was due partly to the race monopoly of the work. A mill owner, of Graniteville, South Carolina, one of the largest cotton manufacturers of the South, remarked that it is "undesirable to work white and colored laborers together in the cotton mills partly because there is considerable race feeling and partly because of the social features that would result. The whites would resent it in the case of cotton mills where women are employed, though they do not on farms and in mines where the laborers are principally males."[1] Another employer, representing the same interests, remarked that it would not be practical to employ the races together in the mill; the white operatives would not work by the side of Negroes. The proprietor of the Henrietta Cotton Mills employing 1,300 hands, stated that "all the employees are white except the scrubbers and cotton handlers, etc., none of the operatives being colored.

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[1] *Report of U. S. Industrial Commission*, VII, pp. 64, 453, 482, 492.

White women especially will not work with Negroes."[2] In his opinion it would be necessary to build a separate mill in order to work both whites and blacks. The manager of the Fulton Bag and Cotton Mill, however, had the hardihood in 1896 to put joint employment of the races to a test. The result was a strike by the white operatives.[3]

Among other factors which operated to bar the Negroes from the textile mills was the current notion that the Negro was not temperamentally adapted to such mill work. Said a writer in *The Textile World,* "A Negro can't work in a mill. The hum of machinery would put him to sleep." Two other authors of surveys on the cotton industry had arrived at the same conclusion.[4] These opinions at best, however, are but hasty generalizations prompted in some instances by prejudice. Perhaps it did not occur to these persons that even before the Civil War Negroes had worked satisfactorily at looms and spindles in several cotton mills in the South.[5] Among them was the Saluda plant[6] which was still in operation.

There was sufficient evidence that the Negro is adapted to such mill work. A rich South Carolina manufacturer testified that the Negroes engaged in the Charleston Cotton factory in 1897 were rendering satisfactory service;[7] and Jerome Dowd, who made a survey of a factory manned exclusively by Negro operatives, found that only one of the workers manifested a tendency to go to sleep.[8] The tendency to fall asleep in the midst of droning machinery is not particularly racial or environmental but individual. The authors have often seen experienced white workmen asleep at their machines in large New England brass factories. They have also witnessed white machinists dozing in their chairs unable to keep awake for the same reason.

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[2] *Report of the United States Industrial Commission*, VII, p. 64.

[3] *Outlook*, Aug. 14, 1897, p. 980.

[4] *Literary Digest*, December 22, 1900, p. 764; Mitchell, Broadus, *Rise of the Cotton Mills of the South*, pp. 218-221; *Literary Digest*, Dec. 22, 1900, p. 764.

[5] Hunt's *Merchants' Magazine*, XXXIX, p. 755; Buckingham, *Slave States*, I, pp. 43-44.

[6] Kohn, *Rise of the Cotton Mills of South Carolina*, p. 24; Mitchell, *Rise of the Cotton Mills in the South*, p. 210.

[7] *Report of the U. S. Industrial Commission*, 1900, VII, p. 64.

[8] "Colored Men as Manufacturers," in *Gunton's Magazine*, Sept., 1902, p. 254.

The Negro, moreover, was considered too unreliable to work in the cotton mills. He was said to have such a desire for attending "funerals, lodge meetings, picnics, and holiday celebrations" as to render him inefficient as a textile mill worker.[9] It was further stated that "if he ever got a dollar ahead he would loaf a week."[10] It is doubtless true that many Negroes did take time off without considering the interests of their employer.[11] This defect, however, was no more to be deplored in the Negro worker than the trait of the white father who brought his children to work in the mill, while he himself sat contentedly about the grocery store all day whittling sticks.[12] All observers of that day, however, did not indulge in such sweeping comment.[13]

Still another obstacle in the path of the Negro's advance in the Southern textile mills was the endeavor to organize the white workers. This was undertaken in some cases by regularly commissioned organizers such as C. P. Davis, who attempted to unionize the employees of the Proximity Mills located near Greensboro, North Carolina.[14] The owner here, as in other instances, however, immediately locked out his employees until they agreed to forswear the union.[15] The other source of unionization which also barred the Negro was the influence wielded by workmen migrating from the North.[16] These workers needed to organize the Southern whites in the interest of higher wages, and the barring of Negro labor from the mills usually followed.

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[9] Louisville *Courier Journal; American Wool and Cotton Reporter*, Chattanooga, Tennessee, *Tradesman*, cited in *Literary Digest*, Oct. 15, 1898, p. 456; *Report, U. S. Industrial Commission*, VII, p. 64.

[10] *Literary Digest*, Dec. 22, 1900, p. 764; Report, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

[11] Blackwell, the Negro Secretary of the proposed Coleman Cotton Mill to be erected at Concord, North Carolina, by a Negro told the Industrial Commission that the only trouble he anticipated with Negro labor was the "tendency of the colored people to take holidays, go on excursions, etc."—*Report*, p. 64.

[12] Mulcay, an organizer of the American Federation of Labor, mentions a case in which a man took his own and his neighbors' children apparently from six to seven up to fourteen years to the mill in a wagon, then brought the horse back and sat around the grocery store all day doing nothing and could not be hired to do any work.—*Ibid.*, p. 56. See also Murphy's *The Present South*, p. 107.

[13] *Outlook*, March 23, 1901, p. 657; Mitchell, *Rise of the Cotton Mill in the South*, pp. 216-218.

[14] Strikes and lockouts are in progress in the South involving twenty-five or more cotton mills. The trouble started when Mr. C. P. Davis was commanded by the American Federation of Labor to organize all the textile workers of the South. He started last spring in his native State, North Carolina. The first clash took place at the Proximity Mill, near Greensboro,

This was illustrated by the strike in the Atlanta Mills in the late 90's when an attempt was made to introduce Negro labor there in cotton factories. The whites struck, demanding the dismissal of the blacks. The management yielded with the result that the textile union was strengthened to the extent that it seemed doubtful to an observer "whether in the future a Southern cotton mill can employ any Negro labor unless it is ready to employ all Negro labor."[17]

Sometimes where no trades union existed a "gentleman's agreement" between white employees and either the owner or superintendent had the same effect in excluding the Negroes from the textile mills. Speaking of such an agreement, an observer of Charlotte, North Carolina, said, "There is just enough organization among the white laborers not to allow a single Negro to be employed except as firemen (an exception that literally proves the rule). There are no trades unions here, yet superintendent and men agreed that if a Negro were set to work at the machines, every white employe would at once leave the factory."[18]

Despite efforts to exclude Negroes from the textile industries of the South, however, a few thousand of them were

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when the owner apprised of the unionizing of his workers immediately closed the plant. The men returned after signing a written agreement not to federate. Other mill owners did likewise.—*Outlook*, Nov. 10, 1900, pp. 624-625.

[15] *Ibid.; Independent*, Nov. 29, 1900, p. 283.

[16] Although the Southern laborers were largely engaged in the mining of soft coal, those mining hard coal in the North early saw the necessity for unionizing the producers of soft coal since the consumer would substitute the one for the other in time of a strike in one of these fields.

[17] *Outlook*, Vol. LVI, p. 980.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 66.

thus employed throughout this period. In 1901 a cotton mill at Fayetteville, North Carolina, a branch of a large Northern concern, was manned and managed by Negroes with the exception of two white foremen. The mill was said to be operating successfully. It gave employment to 200 hands.[19] A few Negroes were also employed in the mills at Graniteville, Lancaster, Chiquola, and Pacolet,[20] in South Carolina. Negroes, with the exception of white foremen, were exclusively employed in the Charleston Cotton Mill until its failure in 1900.

The unsuccessful termination of this enterprise under Negro operators was at once seized upon as ample proof of the unfitness of the Negro for work in textile factories. Southern journals like *The Courier Journal, The American Wool and Cotton Reporter* and *The Tradesman,* ascribed the failure of the mill to the ignorance, unreliability of the Negro and his predilection for holidays, lodge meetings, and picnics. It developed, however, that the failure of the Charleston mill was due neither to the unreliability nor the inefficiency of the Negro workers. The real cause was its unfavorable location. On this account it had failed several times when manned entirely by white help. An investigation of the reasons for the failure of the mill undertaken by the *Charlotte Observer* established and confirmed this view. The investigator, who conducted the inquiry, learned from the manager that the ''supposed unreliability'' [20a] of the Negro labor had little or nothing to do with the failure.[21]

Perhaps the main factor which enabled a few Negroes to enter the Southern mills was that their labor could be bought cheaper than that of the whites, as already noted above in other industries. Faced with the competition of the whites and the urgent necessity of working, the Negroes were glad to sell their labor at the employers' figure because they could not otherwise enter the industrial world.

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[19] *Ibid.*, March 23, 1901, p. 657.
[20] Kohn, *Cotton Mills of South Carolina*, pp. 24-25.
[20a] *Literary Digest*, October 15, 1898, p. 456.
[21] *Outlook*, Vol. LXVII, pp. 468-469; *Negro Artisan*, No. 7, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

As early as 1894 an observer studying the labor situation in the South found that the Negroes received on an average of about a dollar less a day for skilled labor than was paid to the whites for the same work. According to his findings, "The average pay per day of the skilled white labor in the South is put at $2.51. Colored skilled laborers under the same conditions average $1.85 a day; unskilled white workers $1.14 and unskilled colored $1.02. In the cotton and woolen mills white skilled operatives receive an average wage of $1.75 per day, the highest being $3.50 and the lowest $.90. Only one dollar a day is paid to Negro unskilled operatives. Unskilled employees of the white race receive $1.25 as compared with 92 cents for Negro laborers." [22]

Several Southern manufacturers before the United States Industrial Commission in 1900 admitted that there was a difference between the wages paid the Negroes and those paid the whites. They justified such an inequality upon the grounds that the standard of living among the blacks was lower, that they would squander a surplus anyway, and further that the Negroes were better workers where they earned just a living than where they made a surplus. These lower wages, however, had a double effect in that they enabled the employers to keep down the wages of the whites with the ever-present threat of replacement by Negroes, thereby rendering it extremely difficult to organize the Southern workers as effectively as in the North.

The attempt of a few farseeing Negroes to establish cotton mills of their own was once considered a hopeful sign for the Negroes in this industry. An effort was made by Negroes to erect a 2,500 spindle mill at Dallas, Texas, in 1900.[23] Other such enterprises followed at Ocala, Florida, and Durham, North Carolina. The best known effort of this kind, however, was the Coleman Cotton Factory, of Concord, North Carolina, built by a Negro of that name, capitalized at $100,000. It was watched with no little interest as representing the supreme test of the Negroes' ability to operate these mills. This establishment, however, never had a fair trial. It was not only mismanaged, but was handicapped by second-hand English machinery and the failure of the stockholders to meet their obligations. The mill, therefore, after running irregularly for a year or more was finally sold to whites.[24]

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[22] *Literary Digest*, Jan. 13, 1894, p. 239.

[23] Dowd, *op. cit.*, pp. 254-255; *Literary Digest*, Dec. 22, 1900, p. 764.

Inasmuch as such efforts in behalf of the Negro textile workers availed little the number still remained small. According to the United States Census Reports on Occupations for 1910, only 6,178 Negroes were employed in cotton mills. Of these 5,481 or nearly seven-eighths of them were common laborers, such as pickers, scrubbers, washers, firemen, or teamsters. The skilled operatives included spinners, lappers, carders, weavers and the like. Only in isolated instances were Negroes employed in these mills, and then chiefly in the South. A knitting and hosiery mill in Columbia, South Carolina, employed Negro help exclusively.[25] In a silk mill at Fayetteville, North Carolina, it was said that "450 Negro silk operatives were employed in a mill run entirely by Negroes and managed by a mulatto." [26]

From the garment industry of the North, moreover, the Negro was virtually excluded. Most of the workers in these factories were foreign white women who were strongly organized. They, therefore, tended to bar Negroes from such work.[27] The only way the Negroes could find employment at such work was to come in as strike breakers. It was in this capacity that a few Negro women were taken into the service in Philadelphia in 1910.[28] In the South Negro garment workers received less pay but had more opportunity for employment. In a mill in Richmond, Virginia, according to a report to the Hampton Negro Conference, 500 Negro girls were employed in a shirt factory, giving satisfactory service and earning an average of $3.00 a week.[29]

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[24] Thompson, *From Cotton Field to Cotton Mill*, pp. 253-264.

[25] Dowd, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

[26] *Literary Digest*, March 2, 1901, p. 46.

[27] "The Negro in the Trades Unions of New York," in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 1906, p. 23.

[28] *The Negro American Artisan*, p. 86.

In contrast to their small number in the textile industries, a much larger group of Negroes found employment in tobacco factories. This work, however, does not arouse such interest as the efforts of the Negroes to enter the cotton factories, for such employment had long been allotted to bondmen and freedmen in the South. "The colored people of Richmond," said a reporter in 1899, "are employed principally in all branches of the tobacco business, with the exception of cigarette making, cigar making, and cheroot rolling. About 8,000 men, women and children are employed in the factories; of this number about 2,000 might be classified as skilled laborers."[30] By 1902, however, Negroes were even engaged in the more technical process, for, according to an observer, in the manufacture of cheroots some 250 girls were employed at that time at wages averaging $2.75 a week.[31] In Lynchburg "there were two hundred and thirty-one skilled colored laborers, mostly in the tobacco factories."[32] Negro workers increased, too, with the spread of this industry into North Carolina, Kentucky, and Missouri. Among the centers of the industry were Winston-Salem, Durham, Louisville, and St. Louis, where about two-thirds of the employees were Negroes. According to an investigator of the industry in St. Louis the "Negroes have very little competition in this occupation as it is disagreeable, unhealthy, and offers very poor wages. The average weekly wage for adults in 1914 was $9.00 and only Negroes were engaged in the industry."[33] It was not attractive to native white workers, and few foreigners went to the South where they might compete with Negroes in these establishments.

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[29] *Proceedings, Hampton Conference,* July 1902, p. 43.
[30] *Ibid.*, July 1899, p. 19.
[31] *Ibid.*, July 1902, p. 43.
[32] *Ibid.*, July 1899, p. 18.
[33] Crossland, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

Many of the Negroes in the tobacco factories were skilled or semi-skilled workers. In Richmond the Whitlock branch of the American Tobacco Company employed 167 leaf tobacco stuffers at $3.50 to $4.00 a week, 42 tobacco bookers at $5.00 a week, and 22 helpers at $5.00 a week.[34] There were also a small number of Negroes thus employed in New York and other cities, but they were largely foreigners from the West Indies. There were 165 Negro cigar makers in the Cigar Makers Union in New York City in 1910.[35]

The Negroes in the tobacco industry, however, increased but little between 1890 and 1900 and only a little more between 1900 and 1910, the number being 24,014 in 1910. At work were influences which prevented a large increase in these ranks. The most effective of these was the organization of the tobacco trust which by numerous mergers prevented further competition. Workers could no longer go from mill to mill seeking better terms, for certain economies and eliminations enabled these factories to operate with smaller forces.[36]

The introduction of labor saving machinery also reduced the number of Negro workers. This innovation rendered automatic many of the processes of the factory and reduced the need for operatives. On a trip through the South a traveler noticed a labor saving machine which turned out 2,200 packers in one day. "It took 13 girls to do the work before," said he, "and the same work can be done now with a few little colored boys and one man to watch the machine and keep it running right."[37]

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[34] These wages, of course, had to be increased to hold these workers a few years later.

[35] Haynes, *The Negro at Work in New York City*, p. 82.

[36] The effect of the Tobacco Trust upon the employment of the Negroes in the industry is well set forth by E. Lewis Evans, the Secretary and Treasurer of the Tobacco Workers International Union, in his testimony before the United States Industrial Commission. His testimony in part follows:

Q. "What effect on your trade have these combinations of capital or so-called trusts on your working force and your union members?"—*A.* ". . . It has a detrimental effect, so we claim."

Q. "In what way?"—*A.* "The fact is the trusts when they acquire factories close down the smaller ones and throw quite a number of people out of employment. For instance, in St. Louis the American Tobacco Company purchased the Liggett and Myers, Drummond, Brown, and Butler factories, and in St. Charles, Missouri, 25 miles distant, they purchased the Wright Brothers factory. They have closed down all of them except the Liggett and Myers and the Drummond plants. They are the only ones they are working now, so I understand. . . ."

Q. "How many persons did that throw out of employment?"—*A.* "The St. Charles factory employed almost 200 men, the Brown plant probably 200, and the Butler plant about 200."

"Some of these persons to the number of about 100, admitted Evans, had been employed in the Liggett and Myers-Drummond plants."—*Report*, p. 400.

An increasing number of Negroes, however, were engaged in the manufacture of cotton seed oil between 1890 and 1910. This industry was of recent development, arising out of a by-product, the cotton seed, which formerly had either been fed to cattle, allowed to rot, or used in the manufacture of fertilizer. Now, however, it was used in the manufacture of salad oil, and the cake or meal was made into a standard food for cattle. In these oil mills which sprang up all through the cotton belt Negro labor was widely used.[38]

"The industry in Texas reporting the largest number of skilled and semi-skilled Negro workmen," said *The Tradesman,* "is a cotton oil company employing 300 hands. Of these 250 are Negroes and of these Negroes 100 are skilled or semi-skilled. They attend to the machinery used in the manufacture of the oil cake and meal and the like, firing boilers, running presses, etc. They receive from $1.50 to $2.50 per day of 12 hours and compare favorably in efficiency with white workmen."[39]

Several large cotton seed oil plants in Mississippi employed considerable numbers of Negroes. One mill which employed 60 persons reported that 57 of them were Negroes. Of these 30 were unskilled and were engaged in preparing meals and attending machines. In another plant in the same State, of 57 employees 52 were Negroes and of these 20 were skilled or semi-skilled. In a cotton oil mill in the adjoining State of Arkansas 58 Negroes were employed. In each instance the Negroes performed both the unskilled and skilled labor with whites acting chiefly in a supervisory capacity.

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[37] *Report of the United States Industrial Commission,* VII, p. 399.
[38] *Gunton's Magazine,* IX, pp. 85-87.
[39] *Tradesman,* Oct. 15, 1902, p. 53.

One of the reasons for the rapid development of the Negroes in this field was that these factories were usually situated in the cotton belt, where Negro labor could be easily recruited. In addition, the lure of higher wages than those paid at that time on the farm caused a considerable number of Negro employees to forsake the plantation for mill work. While the Negro farm hands in the Yazoo-Mississippi in the most fertile sections of the Black Belt were receiving from 50 cents to 75 cents a day, workers in oil mills and oil compresses were paid from $1 to $2 a day.[40] In Texas, due to the insufficient labor supply, the wages were even higher, ranging from $1.50 to $2.50 a day. In Arkansas, where as a result of a comparative labor scarcity wages were about the same, the Negro cotton oil mill hands received from $1.25 to $2.50 a day.[41] Because of the unwritten laws of peonage, however, Negroes were not always free to avail themselves of these opportunities.

A considerable number of Negroes were also employed in ginning mills and cotton compresses. In some instances the entire gin crews, engineers and all other skilled workers were Negroes. Alfred H. Stone mentions a case in the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta where the Negroes in ginning mills worked in the capacity of foremen, agents, and sub-managers.[42]

An increasing number of Negroes found employment also in the fertilizer industry of the South. In this section the Negroes constituted virtually all the employees in this work. The development of the fertilizer industry came as a by-product of the cotton seed used for the manufacture of oil. The disagreeable nature of the work made it distasteful to whites and hence enabled the Negroes almost to monopolize this pursuit.[43] In a large fertilizer plant in Georgia 211

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[40] Stone, Alfred Holt, *The Negro in the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta*, p. 267.
[41] *Tradesman*, Oct. 15, 1902, p. 54.
[42] Stone, *op. cit.*, p. 267.
[43] Crossland, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81.

Negroes were employed. Of these 31 were reported as being skilled or semi-skilled. These workers, it was asserted, "operated waste machines, were stokers, and truckers, and ran presses."[44] In Atlanta, Negroes performed both skilled and unskilled labor in the fertilizer plants. According to an investigator, the Negroes were largely employed in the fertilizer factories of the South.[45] Another observer, during his travels in the South in 1902, also noted the large number of Negro fertilizer workers. A writer in *The Southern Workman* stated that the "bulk of such undesirable labor in the South was performed by Negroes."[46] Yet this work had to be done, and an increasing amount of it. The whole agricultural area was undergoing a somewhat thorough reconstruction. With unusual emphasis upon the improvement of unproductive soil by scientific methods came an extensive demand for fertilizers made from products which rendered their manufacture decidedly offensive. In 1910, therefore, the number of Negroes engaged in fertilizer factories was estimated at 7,723, of whom 75 were women. These workers comprised considerably more than one-half of all workers in fertilizer plants in the entire country.

An increasing number of Negroes worked also at brick and tile making between 1890 and 1910. The Negro had been long associated with the brickmaking industry. In fact, before the Civil War the brickmaking trade was largely monopolized by the Negroes in the South.[47] After that upheaval, however, the scarcity of employment forced the whites into this pursuit with the result that the Negroes in some cases decreased. In 1910, however, the Negroes still constituted the chief brickmakers of the South, and they were employed in all capacities.

Some notices of observers of this are interesting. In the

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[44] *Tradesman*, Oct. 15, 1902, p. 53.

[45] *Gunton's Magazine*, Sept., 1902, p. 222.

[46] Blackshear, E. L., "Industrial Opportunities for Training and the Race Question," *Southern Workman*, XXXIX, p. 397. During these years industrial training, which Negroes had once opposed, was becoming popular for all.

[47] Brackett, *op. cit.*, pp. 377-378.

Black Belt an investigator in 1899 found a large number of industrious Negroes thus employed.[48] In Mississippi it was said that a concern engaged in making high grade face bricks employed 160 persons, of whom 100 were Negroes, and among these blacks 30 were skilled or semi-skilled. They were used for shading bricks, pressing by hand, steam machines, firing kilns, and attending machinery. They received from 75 cents to $1.60 a day. In efficiency it was said that they compared favorably with the whites of the same class.[49]

According to a report in 1900, a large number of Negroes in Greensboro, North Carolina, the District of Columbia, and many other places were engaged in making pressed, ornamental, and machine bricks.[50] Another large brick concern in Alabama employing 102 Negroes reported 91 of them as skilled. These Negroes performed all kinds of work in the process of the manufacture. The Negroes were hired on the basis of efficiency only, for the management stated that they "have acquired the necessary proficiency to give satisfaction to their employers and . . . about 60 per cent of them can read and write." [51] In Virginia the Negroes virtually commanded the labor in brickmaking, for they sometimes monopolized the business of a whole community. According to W. E. B. DuBois, the entire brickmaking business of Farmville and vicinity in 1898 was in the hands of a freedman.[52]

Owing to the abundance of white labor, Negroes in the North were employed to a less extent in brickyards than in the South. In New York State, however, a number of Negroes were employed in many large brick plants. Many of these workers were Southern migrants who, attracted by higher wages, came to the brickyards in the spring and summer to supply there the seasonal demand for labor.[53] In a large brickyard at Nina, New York, a number of Negroes found employment and the unusual opportunity to enter all the branches of the trade. The superintendent of the mill in 1902, it was said, was a Negro, who had worked up from the position of water boy. He had also served as foreman for seven years.[54] In New Jersey 207 Negroes were employed in 15 brick and terra cotta plants in 1902. In one plant employing 138 Negroes half of them were skilled laborers. These workers included brick machine operators, engineers, brick burners, captains of sailing craft, clay machine operators, molders and several others.[55] In the brickyards of St. Louis, where a considerable number of Negroes worked, they were restricted chiefly to the menial tasks such as "setters, burners, bearers, firers, and wheelers." What little skilled work was performed fell chiefly to the foreign laborers such as Armenians, Greeks, and Italians. Only a few Negroes, it was said, were permitted to work at the brickmaking machines.[56] In some cases an opening for further employment was made possible by Negroes who had learned the brickmaking trade either in the yard of employers or in trade schools and set up brickyards of their own, as in Ithaca, New York. and Farmville, Virginia.[57]

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[48] Stone, Alfred Holt, *The Negro in the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta*, p. 267.
[49] *Tradesman*, Oct. 15, 1902, p. 55.
[50] *Proceedings, ut supra*, July 1900, p. 20.
[51] *Tradesman*, Oct. 15, 1902, p. 53.
[52] U. S. Bureau of Labor, *Bulletin No. 22*, May 1899, p. 413.

Largely as a result of the extensive use of Negroes in brickyards, especially in the South, however, the number of

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[53] It seems that these Negroes were efficient and their work was reported as satisfactory.

[54] "Mr. George Cook, of Nina, New York, succeeded in raising himself from the position of water boy to that of Superintendent of the very large plant owned by the Campbell Brick Company. . . . He was foreman of the plant for seven years and was then made superintendent, which position he now holds."—*Colored American Magazine*, 1902, p. 345.

[55] *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor and Industries of New Jersey*, 1903, p. 185.

[56] Crossland, *Industrial Conditions of Negroes in St. Louis*, pp. 80-81.

[57] "In Farmville, Virginia, a Negro proprietor of a brickyard, it was reported, hired about 15 hands, boys from sixteen to twenty years of age and ran five or six months a year, making from 200,000 to 300,000 brick. His bricks were so extensively used that an investigator remarked that probably one-half the brick houses in and near Farmville were built of brick made in his establishment and he has actually driven white competitors out of business."—U. S. Bureau of Labor, *Bulletin No. 14*, p. 33.

Negroes in brick and tile factories continued to go upward from decade to decade. Negro brick and tile makers increased from 10,521 in 1890 to 16,941 in 1910, or 62 per cent.

A much smaller number of Negroes were employed as marble and stone cutters. They numbered 1,279 in 1890 and 1,513 in 1910. These were mostly in the South, and their employment was chiefly the result of the exploitation of the large beds of marble and other building and ornamental stone in the limestone deposits of Georgia, Alabama, and Tennessee. In some cases nearly all the workers in these quarries were Negroes. They received relatively high wages.[58] Their compensation, however, might have been larger if they had not encountered competition from strike-breaking labor of their own race.[59]

Negro workers in granite and marble found it difficult to secure employment at their trade in the North. This was due either to hostility of the Stone Cutters Union or to the unwillingness of white employers to hire them. Numbers of them on migrating to the North and finding it impossible to secure work at this trade, therefore, were forced sometimes to accept menial positions. A case in point is that of a mechanic from Georgia who, having tried in vain to secure employment in his chosen field, had to accept a position as a waiter. "He had studied three years at Hampton where he had learned in that time the stone cutters' trade. He could practice this in Georgia, he said, but in the South stone cutters get only $2.00 a day as compared with $3.50, sometimes $4.00 a day, in the North. So he came North with the promise of a job of stone cutting for a new block of buildings to be erected by a Philadelphian he had met in Georgia. He received $3.50 a day, but when the block was done he could get no other job at stone cutting and so went into domestic service where he is receiving $6.25 a week instead of the $21 a week he should be receiving as a stone cutter.''[60]

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[58] U. S. Bureau of Labor, *Bulletin No. 22*, 1899, p. 403.

[59] It is often the boast of white employers that if their Negro employees in industry strike they can always bring from farms underpaid Negroes who will be glad to take these positions.

Negro workers in glass factories were small. Most of these were common laborers. In New Jersey two glass factories with 80 Negro employees reported that all of them were engaged in work which ''did not require skill.''[61] There were few if any Negro glass bottle blowers. Not only did this trade require much skill, but it is likewise probable that the unwillingness of the whites to use the blow pipes after Negroes had put them in their mouths had much to do with this exclusion. At any rate, the Glass Bottle Blowers Association in 1903 reported that ''there are no Negroes employed in our industry at any of the skilled branches.''[62] In St. Louis where there were a considerable number of the Negro workers in glass factories in 1914 they were still barred from skilled labor because of the hostility of the union.[63]

During these years the Negroes, however, were beginning to figure in the food industries of the country. About the year 1900, they were just going to an appreciable extent into the large stock yards to work in slaughtering and packing houses of Chicago, Kansas City and East St. Louis.[64] An investigation of the conditions of the Negroes in the West in 1901 showed that in five meat packing firms alone 1,749 Negro men and women were employed. Of these employees 215 or 12.6 per cent were skilled laborers receiving from fifty to a hundred dollars a month.[65] Negroes were used chiefly in the butchering, gutting, and skinning rooms. The disagreeable character of the work performed in the midst of stench of blood from the slain cattle made this work undesirable to the whites and hence accounts for the increasing number of Negroes therein employed.

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[60] DuBois, *The Philadelphia Negro*, p. 338, note.

[61] *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor and Industries of New Jersey*, 1903, p. 186.

[62] *Ibid.*, p. 186.

[63] They cannot become glass blowers but remain helpers because the union is closed to the Negroes.—Crossland, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

[64] Pelham, Robt., Jr., "The Negro in the West," in the *A. M. E. Zion Quarterly*, April 1901.

[65] *Ibid.*, April 1901.

The Negroes also tended to enter the meat packing industry through the medium of strike breaking. The *Nation* remarked concerning an instance of this sort, "The stockyards strike in Chicago in 1904 resulted in the permanent employment of a considerable number of colored workers whose efficiency has been amply proved." In another instance Negroes were taken into a large Chicago packing house as "boners." The Negroes, after having displaced the whites, organized, thus changing the white men's jobs into Negro jobs.[66]

A considerable but decreasing number of Negroes were also engaged in fishing and oystering. In the Tidewater and Gulf regions of the South this occupation was greatly desired by the Negroes, especially in the summer, since it offered an escape from agricultural labor.[67] Concerning the inclination of the Negro to turn to fishing in the summer a traveler was told, "The Negroes in Tidewater, Virginia,

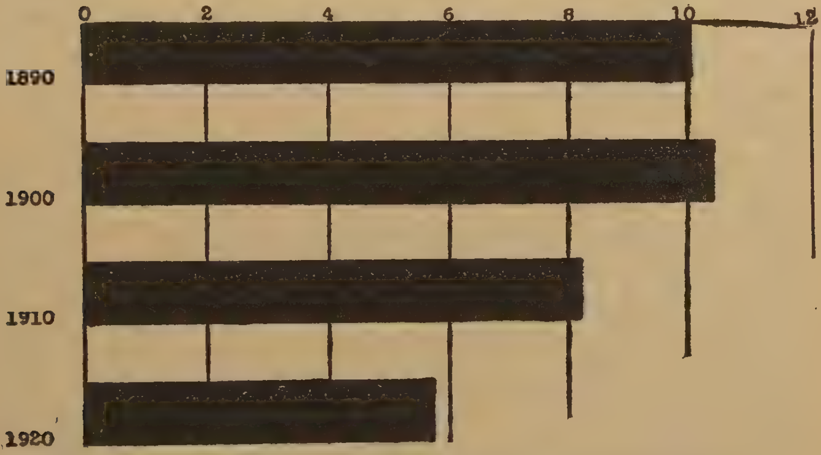

Diagram 9.—Decrease of Negro Fishermen and Oyster Men, by Thousands, from 1890 to 1920.

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[66] *Nation*, Oct. 5, 1905, p. 273.

[67] U. S. Bureau of Labor, "The Negroes of Litwalton, Virginia," *Bulletin No. 37*, pp. 1124-1125.

flock to the tidewater region in the summer, do a day's fishing or in the winter go out with the oyster tongs and exist until the income from that day's pleasant effort is exhausted." [68] Still another investigator found that around Charleston it was said to be difficult to secure Negroes for any other occupation than fishing.[69] The higher wages as well as the freer and easier life of the fisherman made this work attractive to the Negroes, most of whom were recruited from farm hands.[70] These men sometimes earned as much as $25 a month with board.[71]

Many of these Negroes were independent fishermen with their own boats and oyster tongs. In 1903 it was reported that some of the largest vessels engaged in the oyster industry in Cambridge, Maryland, were owned by Negroes.[72] Many of the Negroes working at this task in the Tidewater section of Maryland and Virginia were oyster tongers who owned their equipment. Speaking of these oystermen, Dr. Thom, an investigator, remarked, "If he has good luck he may, especially if he owns his boat, make enough money in the open weather, in the fall months practically, to carry him through the season, possibly through the year. Then he can stay at home in the hard weather, or stand around the store or otherwise disport himself." [73]

Another group of these Negroes engaged in fish and oyster packing. Along the Chesapeake especially the Negroes to a large extent were the workers in this industry. It was said that at one time virtually all the oyster shucking in Maryland was performed by Negroes. After the Civil War, however, the whites, especially German women, took up this work and divided it more and more between them-

[68] Abbott, "The South and the Negro," in the *Outlook*, June 11, 1904.

[69] *Gunton's Magazine*, September, 1902, pp. 253-254.

[70] *Outlook*, June 11, 1904, p. 566.

[71] U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Fisheries of the U. S.*, 1908, pp. 17, 146, 147, 148.

[72] *Proceedings, Hampton Negro Conference*, July 1903, p. 55.

[73] U. S. Bureau of Labor, "Negroes of Litwalton, Va.," *Bulletin No. 37*, p. 1126.

selves and the blacks.[74] Along the bays of Virginia and Maryland much of the oyster shucking and packing was still carried on by Negroes in 1910. The labor at hand in some of these places was insufficient and during the season additional workers had to be brought in.

Because of the high wages earned Negroes could not be hired for the production of foodstuffs which they themselves consumed. Shuckers were paid 20 cents a gallon. It was estimated that a skilled shucker could open twenty gallons a day, thereby earning $4.00 a day during the season. Women and children, of course, earned less. It was reported that about 500 persons, men, women and children, were employed in the oyster shucking and packing industry at Litwalton, Virginia, alone. "There people could make about $400 a season which consisted of about 8 months. The balance of the year was sometimes spent in berry picking and odd jobs."[75] In the South Atlantic States, such as Florida, Mississippi, and Louisiana, a smaller number of Negroes were employed in the fish and crab canning industries.[76] Negro fishermen and oystermen, however, due to the increasing competition of the whites and the decline of the oyster beds in some parts of Maryland and Virginia, showed a decrease between 1890 and 1910. In this interval the number fell from 10,071 to 8,268, which was a decrease of 1,803 or 17.9 per cent.

Other Negroes found employment in the canning industries of the country. In some cases they were used as peelers, scalders, and for other rough work about the factory.[77] Negro workers in butter and cheese factories and other food factories were inconsiderable, due to the location of the factories in the North where white labor was generally used.[78]

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[74] Brackett, *op. cit.*, pp. 375-376.

[75] "Negroes of Litwalton, Virginia," United States Bureau of Labor, *Bulletin No. 37*, p. 1126.

[76] U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Fisheries of the U. S.*, 1900, pp. 285-286.

[77] *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics and Labor of New Jersey*, 1903, pp. 188-189.

[78] *Negro Population in the U. S.*, p. 53.

With the exception of the South Negro bakers were generally excluded from shops by the Bakers Union. The shutting out of Negroes from these plants in the North, according to the Bakers and Confectioners Union of New Jersey, was due to the fact that in the North the public objected to the Negroes' handling bread or other flour foods in the raw state.[79] However, in view of the success of the Negro caterers in the North, many of whom supplied the unusual demands of the best class of whites, it is difficult to interpret such a reason as more than a mere subterfuge to bar Negroes from this employment. In the South, moreover, it was said that "three out of every five bakers were Negroes. There seemed to be no objection to them there in that capacity."[80] Other Negroes kept small bakeshops of their own,[81] often in their homes, where the housewives sometimes made bread and rolls for sale.

Negro workers in several other industries, although gaining after 1890, were still reported in small figures in 1910. This resulted either because of the strong unionization of these industries, because they were highly specialized, or because the whites were prejudiced against Negroes. Among such industries were the breweries and the leather, gold, silver, brass and tin plate factories. Negroes, if employed, served in menial capacities only.

Similarly, the number of Negro workers in the boot and shoe industry of the country remained small throughout this period. The number, however, tended to increase. The large majority of these were cobblers who pursued their trade in little shops of their own. After the invention by Jan Matzeliger, a Negro, of an appliance which revolutionized the making of shoes, and the introduction of such shoe nailing and stitching machinery, the increase in this class was greatly retarded. Most of these workers were in the South, where they had long been identified with shoe making and repairing. Only in isolated cases were Negroes admitted to the large boot and shoe factories of the country as skilled laborers.[82]

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[79] *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics and Labor of New Jersey*, 1903, p. 213.

[80] *Ibid.*, 213.

[81] *Colored American Magazine*, July 1902, p. 254.

The Negroes in leather tanning factories and the like were unimportant for similar reasons. What few Negroes entered these factories were usually porters, teamsters, and the like. In New Jersey four leather factories employing 1,408 men had only five Negroes on their payroll. One of these performed skilled labor.[83] In other factories Negro leather workers were used in such menial jobs as to "bale up the scrap leather, slip or shave the leather shoe heels as they came from the cutter."[84] There was virtually no increase in the Negro harness, saddle makers and repairers, or the trunk and leather case makers during this period. There were likewise few Negroes in the rubber industry.

The numbers of Negroes in certain metal industries showed no appreciable change. A few worked in brass. Only a little better showing was made in tin plate factories. The small number of Negroes in these plants was due to the location of these establishments in the North or Middle West where few Negroes resided. The work, moreover, required more skill than the iron and steel mills in which the Negro entered more freely. These factories, too, especially the tin plate mills, were so highly unionized that no artisan could teach the trade to any unskilled workman. This prohibition was expressly enjoined upon its workmen by the tin plate union, and by innuendo, of course, not to give such instruction to any person of African descent. Negro workers in gold and silver factories were so few that they do not merit much attention here.

A large number of Negroes were employed in public work as street cleaners and repairers, scavengers, sewer workers, filter plant workers, and at other common labor.[85]

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[82] *Independent*, March 27, 1913, pp. 695-697.

[83] *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics and of Labor of the State of New Jersey*, 1903, p. 186.

[84] Crossland, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

[85] *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Sept., 1913, p. 24.

In the South such work was practically in the hands of Negroes.[86] According to a traveler through the South in 1901, when conduits for telephone and electric light wires were installed in all the principal thoroughfares, it was reported that "the placing of these conduits has required miles of excavating, all of which has been successfully done by Negro hands who have received an average pay of $1.25 per day."[87]

So completely did the Negroes monopolize such labor in the lower South that an observer in 1913 remarked that "he was in his twenty-first year before he had ever seen as many as a dozen white men at one time working on the streets digging sewers or building railroads." Born and brought up in the Black Belt of the South, he had seen only Negroes do this work and had come to believe it was their job, until a visit to Chicago introduced him to his first large group of white sewer diggers.[88]

In the North also, however, the Negroes found employment at hard labor on public works, although they had to compete there with foreign laborers.[89] In the smaller towns virtually all such labor was performed by whites. In the large cities of the North and West, however, the situation was different.[90] About a generation ago Negro workers for labor on streets and other public places were being recruited from the South[91] due no doubt to labor shortage caused by the going of the white workers into more desirable spheres of employment.[92] Speaking of this tendency in 1913 a writer said, "In nearly every large city, special employment agencies have been opened in order to induce Negro workers from the South to come North where there is abundant public work to be done on streets, sewers, filter plants, garbage wagons, railroads, etc."[93]

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[86] Here again the white man finds himself too proud to engage in such work.

[87] *Hampton Negro Conference, Proceedings, July 1902*, p. 43.

[88] *Annals, op. cit.*, September, 1913, p. 23.

[89] Strange as it may seem in parts of the North the Negro considered it beneath his dignity to work on the streets. Such work, especially in the smaller cities of New England, was performed almost wholly by Italians and Irish laborers, and so far as the Negroes were concerned they were welcome to it. This is also borne out in a study of the Boston Negro.—Daniels, *op. cit.*, p. 316.

[90] *Annals*, May 1906, p. 110; Quillin, *Color Line in Ohio*, p. 148; *Colored American Magazine*, Dec., 1901, p. 177.

[91] *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Sept., 1913, p. 24.

[92] *Report of U. S. Industrial Commission*, VII, p. 64.

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[93] *Annals, op. cit.*, Sept., 1913, p. 24.

CHAPTER IX

MECHANICS AND ARTISANS

Certain significant forces at work between 1890 and 1910 caused a decline in the relative importance of Negro industrial workers classified as mechanics and artisans. In the North, where the Negroes had never risen very high in the skilled trades, there was a determined effort of the whites to keep them down. The greatest obstacle to the increase of the Negro skilled artisans in this section was the prejudice of the organized whites in trades unions. Speaking of this a writer said in 1906, "The Negroes are cut off from earning an honest living in the North and West because nearly every branch of work is controlled by labor movements and white workers say the first qualification necessary to become a member is to be white."[1] According to another investigator the following year, "Only a small proportion of skilled Negroes in the North are able to work at their trades. They are prevented either by prejudice of the whites or by trades unions."[2] Remarked another writer in the *Forum*, about the same time, "Those labor unions which complain so bitterly of the oppression of capital, and utter utopian principles of universal brotherhood, do not dare to cast their mantle of protection over the despised and neglected laborer with a black skin."[3]

The effect of the opposition of the labor unions upon the Negro mechanics in the North was discouraging. An investigator making a survey of the Philadelphia Negro in 1898 found that the carpenters, masons, painters, and iron workers had succeeded in keeping out nearly all Negro workmen by simply "declining to work with non-union men and refusing to let colored men join the union."[4] Another investigator in 1911 found that of the 80,000 Negroes of Philadelphia so few were skilled that they took no active part in the industrial program of the city.[5] In Pittsfield, Massachusetts, it was reported in 1912 that the Negro skilled laborers were few and that they were losing ground because of race prejudice.[6] In New York several economic studies of the Negro showed that largely on account of the labor opposition only a small number of Negroes worked at the skilled trades. One survey showed that only a few Negroes in every thousand worked at trades whereas the proportion should have been higher.[7] Still another investigation brought out that of ninety-four Negroes reported there as having trades in 1907 only twenty-seven were thus employed.[8]

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[1] *Nineteenth Century Magazine*, Vol. XLVI, p. 970.

[2] Tucker, "Negro Craftsmen in New York," in the *Southern Workman*, Nov., 1907, p. 549.

[3] *Forum*, Vol. VIII, p. 222.

In the West, likewise, the trades unions remained the impediment to the progress of the Negroes in the skilled trades. In Cincinnati, Negroes were generally barred from skilled labor. In Columbus, Dayton, and Springfield, Ohio, the Negroes, it was said, faced the same disadvantage in securing work as carpenters, printers, and molders. In Springfield the Negroes were kept out of all the unions with the exception of the bricklayers.[9]

In Chicago the number of efficient Negro mechanics also thus continued small. Several investigations of the condition of such Negro workers in that city between 1890 and 1914 substantiated this conclusion. Two studies made in 1902 and 1912 found that the Chicago Negroes were losing in the trades because of "competition and the labor unions."[10] Another survey disclosed that not only the labor unions but also the Negroes' own inefficiency tended to eliminate them from these spheres.[11]

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[4] DuBois, W. E. B., *The Philadelphia Negro*, p. 128.

[5] Reed, "Industrial Opportunities for Negroes in Philadelphia," in the *Southern Workman*, Vol. XL, p. 419.

[6] *Negro American Artisan*, p. 52.

[7] Ovington, Mary White, *Half a Man*, p. 95.

[8] *Southern Workman*, XL, pp. 545-550.

[9] Quillin, *Color Line in Ohio*, pp. 142, 147.

[10] *Negro-American Artisan*, p. 57.

Two investigations of the industrial conditions of the Negroes in St. Louis showed that Negroes were excluded from the trades unions there largely because of the antagonism of the foreign element, chiefly Germans.[12] Another investigation twelve years later disclosed that the conditions had changed but little. The Negroes with but few exceptions were still rigorously excluded from the trades. According to an observer, there were only a few Negro mechanics in St. Louis. They were not allowed to work on union jobs or with union men.[13]

The Negroes of Topeka, Kansas[14] and of Kansas City, Missouri,[15] made a better impression along the mechanical line than in the average Western city. The Negro mechanics in the remaining extremely Western States were unimportant throughout this period due not only to the opposition of the unions but also to the small number of Negroes in the section. The Negro tradesmen in the Far West were so scarce that in some places a black mechanic was a rare spectacle.[16]

Extreme difficulty was encountered, too, in apprenticing the Negroes to the trades. Most apprentices were taken from the white youth. This refusal to give Negro youth such opportunities was ascribed in some cases to the opposition of employers who dreaded to rouse the ire of their white workers.[17] The sentiment of the North was aptly expressed by a New Jersey employer in 1903 when he said that "for Negroes learning trades under union apprenticeship rules, the chances of their ever being able to do so in any number seem very remote."[18] This as much as any other cause helped to crush the aspirations of Negro youth to learn mechanical arts.[19]

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[11] Wright, R. R., "The Negro in Chicago," in the *Southern Workman*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 561.

[12] "The responsibility for this exclusion of the Negro from the trades lies with the white workman rather than with the white employer; the large number of foreigners, chiefly Germans, in St. Louis made the outlook for the Negro far from encouraging in this respect, for they seem to have more race prejudice in business relations than the native born American, and they even now control the trade organizations. An old Negro, who has lived in St. Louis for forty years and has been a political leader and otherwise prominent for almost as long, said to me: 'I'd take my chances every time with a native American rather than a foreigner.' And this seems to be the general opinion."—Lillian Brandt, "The Negroes of St. Louis," in the *American Statistical Association*, Vol. VIII, New Series, No. 61, p. 238.

[13] Crossland, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

[14] "Afro-Americans of Topeka," in *Colored American Magazine*, IX, July 1905, p. 394.

[15] Crossland, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

[16] "The Negro-American Artisan," in the *Atlanta University Publications*, pp. 51, 57.

A touching, yet typical, instance of this kind is related by the principal of a school in New York City. Said he, "The saddest thing that faces me in my work is the small opportunity for a colored boy or girl to find proper employment. A boy comes to my office and asks for his working papers. He may be well up in the school, possibly with graduation only a few months off. I question him somewhat as follows: 'Well, my boy, you want to go to work, do you? What are you going to do?' 'I am going to be a doorboy, sir.' Well, you will get $2.50 or $3.00 a week, but after a while that will not be enough; what then? After a moment's pause he will reply: 'I should like to be an office boy.' Well, what next? A moment's silence, and, 'I should try to get a position as bell-boy.' Well, then, what next? A rather contemplative mood, and then, 'I should like to climb to the position of head bell-boy.' He has now arrived at the top; farther than this he sees no hope."[20]

Largely because of these crushed aspirations "many Negro youths who would have been better fitted," in the words of one commentator, "to become expert masons, carpenters, bricklayers, etc., were forced to enter either domestic service or to become mediocre preachers and teachers."[21] It was this inevitable turning away from the mechanical pursuits by the Negro youth which led many whites, who failed to ascertain the real cause, to conclude that Negro youth was either unfitted for or had no interest in the trades.

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[17] Durham, J. S., *op. cit.*, p. 226.

[18] *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor and Industries of New Jersey*, 1903, p. 215.

[19] *North American Review*, CLVI, p. 477; "Industrial Opportunity for Negroes in Philadelphia" in *Southern Workman*, XL, pp. 436-437.

[20] Bulkely, William L., "Industrial Condition of the Negro in the North," *Annals*, XXVII, May 1906, pp. 130-131.

[21] *Atlantic Monthly*, LXXXI, pp. 226-227.

Another handicap faced by the Negro mechanic in the North was that many of them, having learned their trades in the hit-or-miss fashion of the South, could not measure up to the requirements of efficiency and skill set for the trade in the large industrial centers.[22] As a result, they were at a disadvantage in competing with the more skillful and accurate white workers. Because of this defect a Negro investigator of the industrial condition of the Negroes in Chicago in 1906 found that they were "losing ground there because of the lack of efficiency, accuracy, quickness and thoroughness."[23] In New York it was also reported by a Negro authority that the scarcity of Negroes in the skilled trades was "because many of them are inefficient."[24] In Oberlin, Ohio, it was reported by Negro investigators that "the Negro is losing as a skilled laborer because it requires time, energy, money and encouragement to acquire skill,"[25] some of which the Negroes did not have.

Although many of the Negro mechanics lacking the facilities of scientific training were unable to measure up to the requirements of the trades in the North, this defect was not responsible for the barring of other Negroes from the skilled pursuits. Especially was this applicable to the Negroes from the West Indies, many of whom had acquired their trades in the most thoroughgoing manner[26] but who along with the incompetent faced the same color prejudice when seeking jobs. Speaking of this fact a New York educator said, "Most of the skilled artisans among Negroes in New York have migrated thither after learning their trades in the . . . West Indies, yet they run up against a stone wall when seeking employment."[27]

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[22] *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor and Industries of New Jersey, 1903*, p. 215.

[23] Wright, R. R., Jr., "The Negro in Chicago" in the *Southern Workman*, XXXIX, p. 561.

[24] Haynes, *The Negro at Work in New York City*, pp. 76, 77.

[25] *The Negro American Artisan*, p. 71.

[26] The West Indian Negroes immigrating into this country are better selected than the American people of color. Only the most efficient and pioneering can devise plans for getting away from those islands. In this country, then, they easily surpass the average of their sable brethren in enterprise and leadership.

In the same city an investigator, who in 1907 interviewed ninety-four Negroes with trades, found that only twenty-seven were employed at them. Twenty-two of the remainder stated that they made a living running elevators.[28] Another case was that of a plasterer who was born in Alabama and reared in Tennessee where he worked for two years at his chosen trade. In the Northwest he had to work as a cook on trains, longshoreman, and finally as a hod carrier.[29] Negro masons in St. Louis, reduced to hod carriers, were still actuated by pride to designate the former as their occupation.[30] In Philadelphia a Negro bricklayer, failing to find such an opportunity, became a messenger;[31] his fellow-workman, a carpenter, was forced to labor at odd jobs.[32] In Columbus, Ohio, a Negro bricklayer from Virginia armed with a union card showing him to be a member in good standing in the National Bricklayers' Union, was refused work and finally had to accept whatever employment he could find.[33]

Those who were not pushed down into menial or unskilled labor in many instances were compelled to become odd job men, working chiefly among their own people, or performing such tasks as they might occasionally pick up from whites.[34] The Negro artisans in Missouri, shut out of the labor unions, fared correspondingly, although it was reported that they generally demanded and received the same wages as the white union carpenters, bricklayers, and plasterers.[35] Whether or not Negro mechanics thus situated could do this, however, depended upon the extent to which the place in which they were working had been unionized.

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[27] Tucker, "The Negro Craftsman in New York City" in the *Southern Workman*, XXXIX, pp. 549-550.

[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 549-550.

[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 549-550.

[30] Crossland, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-66.

[31] DuBois, *The Philadelphia Negro*, p. 329.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 330.

[33] Quillin, *Color Line in Ohio*, p. 147.

[34] DuBois, *The Philadelphia Negro*, p. 130.

The chief method, however, by which the Negro mechanics and artisans secured work at their trades was by accepting a smaller wage scale than the whites for the same work. This was the case in Philadelphia, according to an investigator in 1898, who found a Negro plasterer who had "worked for one boss twenty-seven years." Regular plasterers received $4.00 or more a day; he did the same work but could not join the union and was paid as a laborer —$2.50 a day.[36] A Negro engineer was delighted "to get $9.00 a week while the whites received $12.00 for the same work."[37] In 1911 another investigator there found that Negro carpenters and bricklayers had to work for less than the whites in order to secure employment. Said he, "Union prices for bricklayers is 62½ cents an hour; the Negro bricklayer receives 52 cents an hour. Union carpenters receive 45 cents an hour, the Negro carpenter 40 cents."[38] The same disparity in wages appeared in virtually all the Northern States except in such isolated cases where Negroes were members of the union.

Another small avenue of employment for Negro mechanics in the North was opened by Negro contractors. Many of these, no doubt, developed from disappointed mechanics who, because of their inability to secure work on the same plane with the whites, established businesses of their own. A Negro painter of Orange, New Jersey, said in 1912, "Outside the union I have a better chance to work colored men on my jobs and a better chance to get jobs." Some of these attained respectable proportions in their activities. In Pittsburgh a Negro was awarded the contract to grade and pave two of the principal thoroughfares of that city in 1901. In Carlisle, Pennsylvania, an investigator found two Negro contractors who furnished employment to members of their race.[39] In Topeka, Kansas, "six building contractors" were reported in 1905.[40]

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[35] Crossland, *op. cit.*, p. 65.
[36] DuBois, *The Philadelphia Negro*, p. 346.
[37] *Ibid.*, p. 346.
[38] *The Southern Workman*, XL, pp. 434-435.

The rising realty operators among Negroes, especially in the cities, also afforded a few opportunities for Negroes to work at their trades. A fine illustration of the influence of such companies is given by Kansas City, Missouri, which with less than half the Negro population of St. Louis, supported over twice as many Negro artisans. According to an investigator, "The reason why Kansas City can boast of such a large class of artisans is because of the operations of the Afro-American Investment and Employment Company founded by F. J. Weaver and associates. The company contracts with private parties and real estate companies to do repairing, overhauling, cleaning, remodeling of buildings and houses at a reasonable figure. Most of the business of this company comes from the whites. These artisans do not get the union scale, but receive a fair wage."[41]

Negro bricklayers, blacksmiths, and other artisans also secured work at other times from white contractors. A Negro painter and interior decorator of New Bedford, Massachusetts, was frequently employed in beautifying the homes of many families in Massachusetts and Connecticut.[42] In Cleveland, in the words of an investigator, "the small number of Negro artisans who are admitted to the trades unions on the same equality as the white men, receive the same wages and work on the same jobs with the white men without any friction."[43] In New York City an observer, making a survey of conditions, noted that white and Negro brick masons belonging to the same union were laying brick side by side on Seventh Avenue in 1907.[44] In St. Louis where white contractors hired Negro mechanics it seems that they were in the capacity of other mechanics and artisans when so employed.[45] On the whole, however, such Negro workers of the North and West were extremely few, and opportunities for their employment up to the World War were becoming increasingly less.

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[39] *Gunton's Magazine*, May 1896, pp. 55-56.

[40] "Afro-Americans of Topeka" in *Colored American Magazine*, July 1915, p. 394.

[41] Crossland, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

[42] *Colored American Magazine*, Jan. 1901, p. 198.

[43] *Ibid.*, Aug. 1901, p. 198.

In marked contrast to the scarcity of the Negro mechanics in the North a large part of the work in the building trades in the South continued in the hands of enterprising Negroes. In Richmond it was estimated that 50 Negro bricklayers and numbers of Negro carpenters worked at their trades.[46] Mr. Kilburn, president of the Macon Central Labor Union, of Macon, Ga., reported in 1900 that there were a great many Negro carpenters, joiners and bricklayers in his State and added that they worked side by side with white men on the same jobs.[47] Throughout the Black Belt it was reported that the Negro mechanics excelled in numbers and that their chief trades were bricklaying, blacksmithing, and carpentry.[48]

In 1902, it was reported that in Florida alone there were as many as 1,000 Negro carpenters, 200 painters, 200 bricklayers, and 300 plasterers who were members of the labor unions.[49] In Jacksonville Negroes in the building trades controlled the unions. From Pensacola, Florida, which had a Negro population of about 14,000 in 1905, came the buoyant report, "The labor condition of the Pensacola colored man has always been most satisfactory. . . . In no other city in the union has the colored man so thorough control of the labor situation in both the common and skilled vocations. . . . Both white and colored men work side by side in perfect harmony under the same system and same scale of wages.''[50] There were reported, three years earlier, 169 members including 95 carpenters, 19 painters, 7 blacksmiths, 23 plasterers and bricklayers, and 2 tinners.[51]

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[44] *Colored American Magazine*, Aug. 1907, p. 87.

[45] Crossland, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

[46] Hampton Negro Conference, *Proceedings*, July 1899, p. 19.

[47] *Report of the U. S. Industrial Commission*, VII, 1900, p. 360.

[48] U. S. Bureau of Labor, *Bulletin No. 22*, May 1899, p. 413.

[49] A field investigator of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History found much larger numbers there in 1927.

The District of Columbia which at that time contained the largest urban Negro population in the country was not so favorably disposed to Negro mechanics as places farther South; for, according to a report of A. F. Hillyer in 1899, there were about 100 bricklayers, 75 carpenters, 80 painters, 100 stationary engineers, and 100 of various other skilled workers.[52] Atlanta, Georgia, in 1902 reported 843 Negro mechanics and artisans, 178 of whom were carpenters, and 73 masons.[53] John E. Bush, writing from Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1905, said, ''Negroes work on public buildings side by side with white men and in this respect the race question is unknown; the only rule applied is the fittest must survive. And in this respect we make no complaint, for we are desirous that whatever the Negro finds to do he must do it as well if not better than his white brother.''[54]

Travelers in the South also commented favorably upon such numerous opportunities for Negro skilled workers. A correspondent of the *Outlook* was gratified to note the perfect harmony existing between white and Negro tradesmen working together on the same buildings. Speaking of Columbia, South Carolina, he states, ''Here there is little white labor of any description. The first cotton factory is now in process of erection. . . . Upon this building—and I saw no other building going up—Negroes and whites worked side by side.''[55] Another traveler noted that in a mill town of 8,000 persons about 1,800 were Negroes. ''In this town,'' he continued, ''white and Negro carpenters, masons, and plumbers worked together under white foremen."[56] Albert Bushnell Hart of Harvard University, writing in 1912, said, "In many parts of the South the building trades are almost wholly in the hands of the blacks."[57] Another traveler in a still more extravagant vein said, "It is becoming more and more difficult to find white bricklayers, carpenters, and the like in the Southern cities. Only in the plumbing trade do the whites continue to hold their own."[57a]

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[50] *Colored American Magazine*, June 1905, p. 320.

[51] *The Negro Artisan*, p. 112.

[52] Hampton Conference, *Proceedings*, p. 19.

[53] *The Negro Artisan*, p. 118.

[54] "Afro-American People of Little Rock, Arkansas" in *The Colored American Magazine*, Jan. 1905, p. 42.

[55] "Work and Wages in Southern Towns" in *The Outlook*, July 8, 1893, p. 66.

Despite these favorable testimonials Negroes were gradually losing their grip upon the skilled trades in the South. Not only was this true in relation to the period under discussion but that actually had been the case since Emancipation.[58] The causes of this decline were various. The first was the inability of the majority of Negro artisans to measure up to the requirements demanded of them by the new industrial South.[59] They were said to be inefficient. The result of this defect was perceptible to blacks, as well as to whites, and was frequently deplored by both. Speaking of the inefficiency of the Negro carpenters, masons, and blacksmiths in Virginia, Phillip A. Bruce as early as 1889 remarked, "Even when a young Negro has been trained by his father, who was formerly a slave, he finds it difficult to compete with white workmen, because his mechanical education has been of the meanest character and limited to the simplest branches of his trade."[60] W. E. B. Dubois, who had conducted surveys of the Negro in widely scattered localities of the country, in accounting for the inefficiency and slovenly methods of the black mechanics, attributed such to the faulty training of slavery. "The slave régime developed workmen who exhibited all the disadvantages and defects of such training; they were willing and good natured but not self-reliant, prudent, or careful; the very opposite to that of the modern self-reliant, democratic laborer.''[61]

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[56] Thompson, Holland, "A Southern Mill," in the *Political Science Quarterly*, XV, No. 1, 1900, p. 2.

[57] *The Southern South*, p. 125.

[57a] *Outlook*, June 29, 1912, p. 430.

[58] This was supported not only by statistics but by numerous observations of friends and workers among Negroes. These appear throughout most of the works herein cited.

[59] Bruce, Phillip A., *The Plantation Negro as a Freedman*, p. 233.

[60] *Ibid.*, p. 233.

The incompetence of a large number of Negro mechanics was repeatedly pointed out by persons who had availed themselves of the opportunity to observe them in action in both the North and the South. The President of the North Carolina College of Agricultural and Mechanical Arts, after deploring the inefficiency of the Negroes and their failure to maintain their control of the trades that they had in the antebellum South, remarked in 1901, ''The whole field of industry is open to him. The Southern whites are not troubled by his efficiency but by his inefficiency.''[62] The author also called attention to the lost opportunity of the Negro to control skilled labor in the South. ''For a full generation,'' said he further with some exaggeration, ''the Negro has had the opportunity to control every industry in the South. Had he devoted himself upon Emancipation to manual labor instead of to politics, religion and education, he would own to-day at least one-half of the Southern States.''[63] In an address before the Seventh Annual Conference for the Study of Negro Problems, at Atlanta University in 1902, Booker T. Washington said, ''Many of the trades which were formerly in our hands have in too large a degree slipped from us, not that there was a special feeling against our working at these trades on the part of the native Southern white man, but because, I fear, we failed to fit ourselves to perform the service in the very best manner.''[64]

Another observer prophesied that unless the Negro improved in mechanical skill, "the day will come in the South, just as it came long ago in the North, when for lack of skill, lack of sobriety, and lack of persistency, the Negro will find it more difficult to stand up as a rival to the white working man."[65] Showing how the problem was being worked out a few years later a white contractor of Charlotte, North Carolina, when asked whether he paid the same wages to skilled black labor as to white, replied, "That depends on how skilled the labor is. If I want a common job I get a colored man, and if I want a better job I get a white man."[66]

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[61] DuBois, W. E. B., "The Relation of the Negroes to the Whites in the South" in the *Annals of the American Academy of Social and Political Science*, XVIII, pp. 124-125.

[62] Winston, George T., "The Relation of the Whites to the Negroes" in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, July 1901, p. 117.

[63] *Ibid.*, p. 117.

[64] *The Negro Artisan*, p. 7.

The inefficiency of the black artisan was also brought out as the result of two surveys made by Atlanta University. The first study in 1902 led to the conclusion that there were a large number of Negro mechanics all over the land, but especially in the South. Some of them were progressive, efficient workmen. More were careless, slovenly, and ill trained. There were "signs of lethargy among these artisans" and work was "slipping from them in some places." In others they were "awakening and seizing the opportunities of the new industrial South."[67] Ten years later, in 1912, the report of a more extensive survey supported the same conclusion, saying among other things, "They (the Negro artisans) are handicapped by their own industrial history which has made them often shiftless and untrustworthy, but they can by means of much economic leadership be made a strong body of artisans and landowners."[68]

The ranks of the Negro artisans in the South unfortunately were being depleted, because of the failure of Negro youth to follow the trades. This aversion of Negro boys to the skilled pursuits became a source of alarm to observers who beheld the constant decrease of the older workmen, while only a half-hearted effort was made by the young Negroes to take their places. Although the same tendency of Negro boys to shun the trades was evident both in the North and South, the causal elements were decidedly at variance in the two sections. In the North, as a rule, they were not accepted as apprentices; in the South, where many such opportunities were offered to them, they were willfully neglected.

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[65] Bruce, *op. cit.*, p. 233.
[66] U. S. Industrial Commission, *Report*, VII, pp. 510-511.
[67] *The Negro Artisan*, p. 188.
[68] *Ibid.*, p. 142.

Deprecating this tendency among the Negroes of Virginia, a writer remarked, "Indeed one of the most discouraging features in the character of the Negroes who have grown up since the war is their extreme aversion to the mechanical trades. Very few of the young men become carpenters, blacksmiths or masons of their own accord."[69] Referring to Richmond in 1899, an authority said that there were practically no apprentices employed in the trades and after that generation passed away the prospects for the instruction of Negro skilled labor would be very meager."[70] Holmes, a former Negro contractor, of Prairie View Normal School, Texas, writing of conditions in that State, remarked in 1902, "Not more than 3 per cent of our young men in Texas are entering the trades, and at the present death rate among the old workmen it will not be long before we shall be conspicuous for our absence from all the trades."[71] As a result of a nation wide survey of the Negro artisans of virtually all of the Southern States came the identical complaint that young Negroes were not entering the trades.[72]

The disinclination of Negro youth to become mechanics and artisans was due in a large measure to the desire of the young Negro to enter the professions, especially those of teaching and preaching. Following the Civil War, many of them, even after receiving an industrial education, renounced their trades for teaching which, on account of the peculiar psychology of the postbellum Negroes, enhanced their social position. It was largely because of the failure of many of these graduates to stick to their trades which led some persons, especially in the South, to condemn industrial education.

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[69] Bruce, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

[70] Hampton Conference, *Proceedings of 1899*, p. 19.

[71] *Negro Artisan*, p. 100.

[72] *The Negro American Artisan, passim.*

Booker T. Washington contended in 1900 that at least three-fourths of the Negro graduates of industrial schools were actually applying the knowledge gained at school;[73] but an investigator in answer to his query showed that many Negro graduates did not follow their trades for which they had been peculiarly fitted. They did not like hard work and preferred tasks of more social prestige.[74] This was true in many instances, for, according to a report from Tuskegee in 1900, only 17.5 per cent of her total graduates either worked at or taught their trades, while 51 per cent of the total trade graduates did likewise. The proportion for Hampton was a bit larger, for of the total graduates of the school, 63.5 per cent actually followed their trades either as artisans or teachers.[75] Other Negro youth, according to the times, did not desire work entailing responsibility or physical endurance.[76]

To the inefficiency and carelessness of the old Negro workmen and the indifferent attitude of the Negro youth toward the trades was added still another factor which tended to reduce the numbers of the black mechanics and artisans in the South. This was the aggressive competition of the white workmen.[77] Parodoxically enough, the struggle there was the reverse of that in the North. In the latter section the whites were securely entrenched in the trades, and the Negroes were trying to get in. In the South, however, the Negroes were strategically situated in the trades at the beginning of this period and the whites were trying to get them out. Their efforts to dislodge the Negroes from the skilled pursuits proved much more successful in freedom than in slavery.

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[73] *Nation*, Oct. 11, 1900, p. 281.

[74] *Report of the U. S. Industrial Commission*, VII, pp. 63, 524.

[75] *The Negro Artisan*, p. 79.

[76] *Report of U. S. Industrial Commission*, VII, p. 548.

[77] *Outlook*, Aug. 4, 1900, p. 761; *Negro Artisan*, 1902, *passim; Negro American Artisan, passim; Proceedings of the Hampton Negro Conference*, July 1899, pp. 18, 19, 20.

Referring to the postbellum condition of the whites, a writer in the *Nation* said, "Before the war the 'poor white' was most wretchedly situated. In almost every kind of 'common labor' he came into competition with slaves, and his wages consequently were little or no higher than the cost of maintenance of slave labor. In this competition, the slave got decidedly the better of it, as his position was assured and he was protected by his master, while the 'poor white' had to shift for himself. . . . The competition between the 'poor whites' and Negroes still obtains . . . and the whites and blacks are continually clashing in the labor market. This economic conflict makes the 'Negro problem.' . . . The 'poor white' . . . is often shiftless and lazy; but he is vastly more alert and aggressive as well as more intelligent than the Negro, and whenever the two races clash, the Negro is invariably worsted. Fortunately for the Negro, certain lines of work are by custom reserved for him, such as domestic labor and work in the cotton fields. But the moment he leaves the beaten path and enters new fields, he comes into conflict with white labor." [78]

Said another observer, "Indications exist that the white workingman is now beginning to crowd out the colored workingman and any attempt to substitute colored for white is always keenly resented and usually results in failure." [78a] Another in 1903 reported that as a result of lack of energy, purpose and stability the Negroes were giving way before the able competition of whites in the skilled and better paid occupations.[79] Booker T. Washington felt that the Negro would have himself alone to blame in case he lost his industrial monopoly in the South. Said he, "The next 20 years will decide the fate of the Negro race, if he can hold his industrial monopoly in this section he will survive; if not then something else. It seems the South did not give nothing when she gave that monopoly surely, and if she takes it away, only when the gift is rejected, whose fault is that?"[80]

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[78] *Nation,* Sept. 14, 1899, pp. 206-207.

[78a] *Nation.*

[79] Kelsey, *op. cit.,* p. 76.

Before the Civil War, the Negro mostly controlled the trades in Maryland. By 1890, they had been reduced largely to hod carriers. The change in the mechanical fortunes of the Negroes in this State is well depicted by an investigator saying, "It is, unhappily, to a limited extent only that the colored people can work at skilled labor. Before the war, the circumstances in Baltimore were more like those in the more Southern States. Certain work was done mostly, if not wholly, by blacks. . . . In the counties some of them were made carpenters, and blacksmiths. But foreign labor came in especially after the war. . . . Now, the whites are, with few exceptions, the skilled workmen, the artisans, of the community."[81] Sometimes this competition was fair and in favor of the whites only because most of them, having learned their trades after the Civil War, were more skillful and accurate than the old slave-trained artisans. Too often the racial element entered, and the whites were given the preference over Negroes even if both were equally efficient.[82]

A new note in the prejudice against Negro mechanics in the South was struck when the City Council of Richmond, Virginia, in 1902, threatened to take a job from a white contractor because he employed Negro workmen.[83] The bitterness of the duel between the whites and blacks for control of the trades in the South lay at the bottom of much of its racial friction. It was said that in New Orleans, where the competition was very keen in 1900, a riot in which several whites and blacks lost their lives heightened trade competition between the races. Said the *Outlook*, "The white working men of the city, who feel the stress of Negro competition, were conspicuously more bitter in their hostility to the Negroes than were the employers."[84] The Atlanta riot of September 1906, had its origin, according to a speaker, in the economic warfare there between the races.[85]

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[80] Washington, Booker T., in the Philadelphia *Tribune*, cited in *Colored American Magazine*, March 1905, p. 163.

[81] Brackett, Jeffrey, "Progress of the Colored People in Maryland since the War" in the *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, VIII, pp. 375-376.

[82] *Hampton Negro Conference Proceedings*, July 1899, p. 19.

[83] *Proceedings Hampton Conference*, July 1902, p. 43.

In other instances, the white artisans refused to work with Negroes. Sometimes the whites refused to work with them under the same foreman, although performing the same labor. A case in point was the refusal of white pavement layers to work on a job on Atlanta streets. They were finally conciliated when the work went on under different foremen with each group separated by 100 yards.[86] Such occurrences were not very frequent, however, in view of the fact that the Negroes in the South were so strongly entrenched in such trades as carpentry, blacksmithing, and bricklaying. It was, therefore, only too patent to the whites that their chances of ultimate success lay first in dividing this employment with Negroes before attempting to drive them out altogether. This was the usual procedure.

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[84] *Outlook*, Aug. 4, 1900, p. 76.

[85] Proctor, H. H., "The Atlanta Riot, Fundamental Causes and Reactionary Results" in the *Southern Workman*, XXXIX, p. 425.

[86] Investigation shows that in such cases there is not only the greed to get the best and leave the worst for the Negro, but that if a white man has to do such an undignified thing as to work he should not do it along with a Negro.

CHAPTER X

OTHER DIFFICULTIES OF NEGROES IN THE TRADES

The difficulties of the Negroes in the trades seemed to increase with time. The greatest troubles, as already mentioned above, came from the trades unions which prevented the increase of the number of Negro workers. The impulse to the unionization of the South was first given by migrating workers who speedily united in organizations such as they had been accustomed to in the North.[1] The American Federation of Labor also sent its agents into the South to accelerate the movement.[2] The effect of the effort in some places was virtually to drive the Negroes from the trades and reduce them either to the status of helpers or common laborers.

Numerous illustrations of the depressing effect of the trade unions upon the Negro skilled workmen in various places may be offered. Writing about the Negroes in Baltimore in 1898, an observer said, "There are several colored printers. . . . There are a very few painters and carpenters, but their work has to be mostly jobbing, especially among their own people, for the ironclad rules of the trades unions shut out those who, for one reason or another, are not union men. In only such branches as 'hod-carrying,' brickmaking, and caulking do the colored men have influence."[3] This exclusion from the trades was strikingly evident to observers during the rebuilding of Baltimore after the fire of 1904. The Negroes' part in the rehabilitation of the city was confined chiefly to hod-carrying or to wheeling away débris.[4] The rôle of the Negro mechanics in the reconstruction of that city, however, was in marked contrast to that in Jacksonville, Florida, a few years earlier when the latter was practically rebuilt by Negro mechanics.[5]

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[1] *Outlook*, July 8, 1893, p. 66.

[2] "Report of Edgerton and Durand" in *Report of U. S. Industrial Commission*, XIV, pp. 36, 37.

[3] Brackett, *op. cit.*, pp. 375-376.

Owing to the pressure of the labor unions in the District of Columbia, Negro mechanics and artisans were being reduced to repair jobbers[6] among their own people. Said an investigator in 1899, "White labor is thoroughly organized in Washington. The organizations control almost all the large contract work and appear to be driving the unorganized colored workmen out of the better class of work in the building trades. They are quite generally restricted in Washington to the smaller houses and to homes built by colored owners and to odd jobs and repairs."[7] In Louisville, Kentucky, the Negroes were likewise being crowded out by the labor unions.[8] These conditions still obtained in 1912, according to a countrywide survey of Negro artisans made that year.[9]

Even farther South the trade unions became a source of opposition which served further to weaken the position of the Negro in the industrial arts.[10] As early as 1893 a traveler in that section noted that "where the best laborers are organized in trades unions, it is the white laborers who will not work side by side with Negroes."[11] In Tennessee, in 1902, it was said that the greatest obstacles before

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[4] "During the twelve months following the fire, I visited Baltimore a number of times, and on each occasion spent considerable time in the burned district. I was hunting for a Negro mason, or carpenter, or plumber—but if he was there, I failed to discover him. And yet labor had been drafted for this emergency work from every city in the North and East. I found him only as a hod carrier or employed in wheeling away debris."—Stone, A. H., *Studies in the American Race Problem*, p. 170.

[5] In that city, however, the Negroes controlled the labor unions of the building trades and do so even to-day.

[6] *Atlantic Monthly*, LXX, p. 228.

[7] "Report of Hillyer to Hampton Negro Conference" in *Proceedings*, July 1899, p. 20. See also studies of the *Negro Artisan* in Atlanta University Publications, Nos. 7 and 17.

[8] *The Negro American Artisan*, p. 53.

[9] This was a second survey made by Atlanta University.

[10] Washington, Booker T., *The Future of the American Negro*, p. 79.

[11] *Outlook*, July 8, 1893, p. 66.

Negro laborers were labor unions: "they do not receive Negroes as apprentices and when Negroes are employed as helpers they prevent them from receiving promotion according to merit."[12] In Atlanta, the white painters in trades unions manifested open hostility to the Negro in the trades by barring them from their unions.[13] In Augusta, of the same State, where the Negro had once furnished practically all the skilled labor before the industrial rise of the town, it was reported in 1912 that due largely to the opposition from the unions, there were then more white artisans than colored.[14] In Charleston, South Carolina,[15] New Orleans,[16] Lynchburg, and Richmond,[17] the Negro artisan was gradually giving way in 1912 before the rising tide of white trade unionism.[18]

The inroads of the organized whites upon the trades once held almost wholly by the Negroes and the attempt to bar them from the newer trades caused some persons to prophesy that the Negro artisans in the South would be reduced ultimately to the same beggarly position in the trades then occupied by the Northern Negroes.[19] Booker T. Washington, contemplating in 1899 the continued surrender of the skilled trades to the whites, felt that the next twenty years would be the most serious in the industrial history of the race. After stressing the fact that the Southern white man preferred to do business with the black mechanic rather than the white,[20] he remarked, "But too often where the white mechanic or factory operative from the North gets a hold the trade union soon follows and the Negro is crowded to the wall."[21]

The extent of the opposition of the labor unions toward the black mechanics, however, varied in inverse proportion to the numerical strength of the Negroes in the trades.[22] Where the Negro tenure was weak the net result was usually open hostility such as the electricians, plumbers, and gas and steam fitters encountered. On the other hand, where the Negroes presented a bristling array of artisans in the trade and threatened seriously the position of the white workers through the medium of underworking the latter, the unions put forth efforts to conciliate them by organizing the Negroes into similar bodies.[23] This was especially applicable to Negro carpenters, bricklayers, and blacksmiths [24] who in 1910 were almost three-quarters of all the Negro artisans in the South.[25] In some cases, both Negroes and whites belonged to the same union.[26] In Vicksburg, Mississippi, white and colored brick masons were thus organized with a Negro as president of the union.[27] In Little Rock, Arkansas, it was reported that the carpenters, blacksmiths, brickmasons, and plasterers, all admitted Negro members.[28] In Pensacola, Florida, where in 1905 labor conditions between the races were exceedingly pleasant, it was said that "instead of the union stifling the colored man, he has swallowed the labor union." [29] The situation in Jacksonville, Florida, at that time was equally as favorable to the Negroes in the building trades.

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[12] *The Negro Artisan*, p. 143.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 115; *Report of U. S. Industrial Commission*, VII, p. 46.

[14] This situation, of course, was an exception to the rule.

[15] *Negro American Artisan*, p. 80.

[16] Electricians were barred from the unions in New Orlean, *Ibid.*, p. 62.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 80.

[18] *Negro American Artisan, passim.*

[19] See Stone, *op. cit.*, p. 170; Evans, *Black and White in the Southern States.*

[20] Washington, *Future of the American Negro*, p. 78.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 79.

Mixed unions, however, were few, for the social consciousness of the South could not long brook anything which smacked of equality between the races.[30] This became evident in the case of some Southern local unions which, contrary to the accepted tenets of the American Federation of Labor, refused to accept Negro members on account of color.[31] Since it was a question of self-preservation of the whites, it was suggested that the Negroes be granted separate charters and thus organized into locals of their own. This suggestion came from Samuel Gompers himself and thus marked the first deviation of the Federation from its affirmed policy against discrimination on account of race or color.[32]

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[22] This was the case in Maryland. See Brackett, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

[23] "I do not belong to a trade union because the union here will not admit a Negro."—Reply of an electrician in the *Negro American Artisan*, p. 62.

[24] The Negroes had figured more conspicuously in these fields than in other higher pursuits because of the reliance of the South upon such mechanics before the Civil War.

[25] Out of 76,910 Negroes in the building trades in 1910, 55,197 or 71 per cent were carpenters or bricklayers.—U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Negro Population in the U. S., 1790-1915*, p. 526.

[26] Report, *op. cit.*, XIV, p. 5; VII, pp. 46, 758.

[27] *The Negro American Artisan*, p. 64.

[28] *Colored American Magazine*, Jan. 1905, p. 42.

[29] *Ibid.*, June 1905, p. 320.

[30] "There are very few mixed unions but colored branches are organized."—*Report of U. S. Industrial Commission*, VII, p. 555.

This policy still obtains. Numerous separate unions have followed since this innovation. There were two unions of Negro bricklayers in Augusta, in 1900. Two colored unions, one of carpenters, the other of bricklayers, existed in Macon, Georgia, in the same year.[33] It was reported in 1902 that nine-tenths of the black membership of Negro carpenters in the South were in separate organizations.[34] Most of the coopers were likewise in locals of their own. These separate organizations often conferred with the white locals and were recognized by the American Federation of Labor.[35] In Key West, Florida, where the Negro carpenters organized in separate unions struck because of the discharge of colored workmen in 1911 the white carpenters struck sympathetically until the demands of the black men were granted.[36]

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[31] Edgerton and Durand, *Report in U. S. Industrial Commission*, XVII, pp. 36-37.

[32] "With necessary experience in the effort to organize the wage earner of the South, the leaders have become convinced that for local purposes separate organizations must be permitted. President Gompers said in his report to the convention of 1900, that here and there a local refused to accept membership on account of color. In such cases where there were enough colored workers in one calling an effort had been made to form a separate colored union and a trades council composed of the colored and white. This had generally been acquiesced in. In some parts of the South, however, serious difficulty had arisen. Central bodies chartered by the Federation had refused to receive delegates from local unions of Negroes. The Federation had not been able to insist that they be received for such insistence would have meant the disruption of the central bodies. President Gompers suggested that separate central bodies composed of Negroes be established where it might seem practicable and necessary. The convention accordingly amended the constitution to permit the executive council to charter center labor union, as well as local trade and federal unions composed exclusively of colored members."—*Ibid.*, pp. 36-37.

[33] Such unions, although not reported, were found in several Southern cities.

[34] *The Negro Artisan*, p. 160.

[35] *Report of the U. S. Industrial Commission*, VII, 1900, p. 560.

The organization of the Negroes, however, did not generally redound to the benefit of the Negroes. This, of course, was not the purpose of the labor unions in organizing them. The aim was to get rid of Negro competition. Once inside the union, however, the Negroes found themselves in an embarrassing predicament. In the first place, they were discriminated against in the matter of securing jobs, for the white members usually cared for their members first. Speaking of this tendency, F. N. Thompson, secretary of the Southern Industrial Convention and the secretary of the Chamber of Commerce of Huntsville, Alabama, said that Negroes were taken into Southern trades unions on the same basis as white men; but yet there was discrimination even in the unions. The white members tried to get employment for each other and to crowd out the colored members.[37]

The Negro as a union member also found it more difficult to sell his labor where he demanded the same wage as the white union worker. Employers gave preference to the white mechanic where both races required the same pay. As a result many Negro carpenters and bricklayers found themselves idle at times while the whites had employment. For the Negro carpenter, bricklayer and the like, therefore, becoming a union man often meant periods of prolonged idleness, and many of them withdrew from the locals. Thereafter it became more difficult for labor organizers to unionize the Negroes, since Negro preachers and politicians, cognizant of the wiles practiced by the unions, urged the members of their circles to eschew such organizations.[38]

This caused some organizers to say that Negro workers were difficult to unionize and even when this was possible made very poor union men. There was no ground for thinking that the majority of Negroes, if granted equal opportunity for work at the same wages as the whites, would not have preferred the benefits which accrue from collective bargaining. However, it was the chicanery of the trades unions which destroyed the confidence of Negroes in these efforts and made them underbid white mechanics and artisans and fill their places when there was a strike for higher wages. Only in the case of the enforced idleness of the unionized whites could Negro skilled workers find employment at all.

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[36] *Nation*, Sept. 7, 1911, p. 203.

[37] *Report of Industrial Commission*, VII, pp. 46, 758, 767.

[38] According to Mr. Gannett, President of the State Federation of Labor of Georgia, there was trouble in organizing the Negroes on account of the preachers and politicians. It was feared that the labor union is a political scheme.—*Ibid.*, VII, p. 548.

In addition to the hostility of trades unions, the attempt of the whites to remove certain trades from Negro competition tended to diminish the number of Negroes thus engaged. This was especially applicable to plumbing and the electrical work. These vocations, electrical in particular, were comparatively new fields in which very few Negroes had entered.[39] In order to prevent the Negroes from practicing the trade wholesale supply houses often refused to sell them materials.[40] A more favorite method of barring them from these pursuits was to install a system of unfair examinations which were conducted by whites. Complaining of this unjust practice in Memphis, Tennessee, in 1902, a worker said, "The examination is so difficult that only two colored plumbers have passed." Well trained Negroes have been known to fail in such tests while they have easily met the requirements elsewhere. Most of the Negro plumbers, therefore, were not recognized as competent because they had not passed the examination.[41] As a result of these handicaps some Negro plumbers were relegated to the position of helpers to white mechanics, although in many instances they were as well qualified for this work as the white workers themselves.[42] Many of these Negro mechanics actually did excellent work. An inquiry among those who long worked at these trades in the South established the now well known fact that frequently during this period these Negro plumbers were taken on jobs by white contractors where they performed the same work as the white mechanics but were classified and paid as mere helpers.[43]

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[39] Charleston *News and Courier,* cited in the *Literary Digest,* Aug. 29, 1908, p. 203.

[40] Said a Negro plumber in Atlanta, Georgia, "I have made several attempts to join the union, but have been refused because of my color. A few years ago the supply houses would not sell material of any kind to a Negro master plumber, but now they vie with each other in giving us the best of goods at the lowest possible wholesale prices."—*The Negro American Artisan, op. cit.,* p. 56.

[41] *The Negro Artisan,* pp. 94-95.

According to numerous observations this inequality of opportunity generally obtained. Workers for the uplift of Negroes generally reported that the whites were making their pressure felt along these lines.[44] Said a Negro artisan of Montgomery, Alabama, in 1902, "Plumbing is practically a white trade here."[45] A curious side-light upon the attempt to maintain these vocations as white pursuits is afforded by the report of a Negro general contractor of Atlanta, Georgia. He was awarded a contract to build a house which cost $10,000. His share amounted to only $7,500, for the steam-fitting, plumbing and electrical work were under separate contract, that is, let out to whites.[46] In 1912 a number of persons interviewed reported that the whites were supreme in the plumbing trade.[47] It was largely because of these provisions for caste that the few remaining Negro plumbers and electricians continued to yield ground.

In the face of the various handicaps under which the black artisan labored in the South his only means of retaining a place in the trades was his willingness to underwork the white competitors. In 1891, it was reported that the highest wages for Negro skilled labor was $3.00 a day; the lowest $1.10, the average, $1.75.[48] In 1900 B. R. Lacy, the State

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[42] *The Negro Artisan*, p. 95.
[43] Personal interviews.
[44] Hart, *The Southern South*, p. 125.
[45] *The Negro American Artisan*, p. 49.
[46] *The Negro Artisan*, p. 103.
[47] See the works of DuBois, Frissel, Washington, and others already cited.
[48] *Nation*, Sept. 17, 1891, p. 208.

Commissioner of Labor of his commonwealth, said it was customary in North Carolina to pay less to a Negro than to a white man of the same skill . . . "A Negro carpenter starts at 75 cents a day, and if he has ability in time he gets $1, then $1.25, and then competes with the $1.50 white carpenters."[49] According to G. W. Russell, a cotton manufacturer of South Carolina, speaking at the same time, Negro skilled laborers offered themselves for less money than whites. A white journeyman bricklayer in this section received $2.50 a day and Negro bricklayers had to be satisfied with $1.75, the skill being about equal. As a result a good many jobs went to the Negro bricklayers and such white laborers were idle a part of the time.[50]

According to a report of Doherty, the Commissioner of Labor for Virginia in 1901, a survey covering three hundred and eighteen firms of various kinds employing white and Negro labor, there was a lower wage scale for the black than for the white artisans.[51] White carpenters received $2.26 a day and the Negro $1.83; white bricklayers $3.39 and the Negro $2.04; white plasterers $2.79 and the Negro $1.94; white lathers $2.16 and the Negro $1.16; white painters $1.95 and the Negro $1.53; white brick makers $1.96 and the Negro $1.57. A white painter, in Atlanta in 1902, received $2.30 a day and the Negro thus employed $1.80; the white molder $2.05, and the Negro $1.95; the white rock mason $2.70 and the Negro $2.40; the white carpenter $2.07 and the Negro $1.82; the white blacksmith $2.25 and the Negro $1.83½; the white tile layer $2.50 and the Negro $1.25; the white electrician $5.00 and the Negro $3.50. In 1912 this dual system still prevailed.

In his study of the Negro artisan in Virginia from the reports of the Commissioner of Labor of that State from 1900 to 1923, R. E. Pinchbeck shows that throughout the period, virtually the same degree of wage discrimination was practiced.[52] It was found that in many cases the Negro contractor or artisan had to underbid the white in order to secure work.[53]

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[49] *Report of United States Industrial Commission*, VII, p. 64.
[50] *Ibid.*, p. 488.
[51] *The Proceedings of the Hampton Negro Conference*, July 1903, pp. 49-50.

The developing Southern industrialism, however, was helpful. This made it comparatively easy for one to rise from a mechanic into an independent contractor. Just as the Negro mechanic existed by underbidding the white mechanic so the Negro contractor with cheaper labor sometimes secured work which otherwise might have gone to whites. In contrast to the North, therefore, nearly every Southern town boasted of its Negro contractor who not only afforded work for his own race but often employed white men.[54] Rufus D. Bullock of Atlanta, Georgia, said, in 1900 that white men and Negroes in that State worked together under the same contractor, often under a Negro. During these years Robert H. Woodson, a Negro building contractor in Huntington, West Virginia, hired men of both races on the same jobs. A Negro contractor of San Antonio, Texas, said in 1905 that he employed between thirty and thirty-five men, paying them from $2.50 to $3.20 a day.[55] Danville, Kentucky, in 1905, reported a Negro contractor who gave employment to a number of his own race.[56] A Negro contractor of Pensacola, Florida, who hired a considerable force of workers in 1907, was reputed to be worth $125,000.[57]

The skilled Negro artisans, however, were gradually being forced to relinquish their hold upon the trades in spite of the rise of their own contractors, but unskilled labor in the building trades continued as a monopoly controlled by Negroes. This was due to several causes. In the first place, this work fell into the opprobrious category of "Negro jobs,"[58] and custom had for so long assigned this work to Negroes that they were practically undisturbed therein. In addition, employers regarded the Negro as far superior to the whites for such arduous labor.[59] The small wages ranging from 75 cents to $1.00 a day, moreover, were not sufficient inducement for the whites to compete with the Negroes in this field.[60]

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[52] Pinchbeck, Raymond, *Negro Artisan in Virginia*, p. 104.

[53] This was common throughout the country.

[54] *Proceedings of Twelfth Annual Convention at Little Rock*, Arkansas, 1911, pp. 38, 39.

[55] *Colored American Magazine*, p. 40.

[56] *Ibid.*, Feb. 1905, p. 105.

[57] Washington, Booker T., *The Negro in Business*, p. 236.

Even in the North and West the Negro rarely had difficulty in finding work as a common laborer or helper in the building trades. In fact, such unskilled work was almost all that was accorded him there in this line, and even then he had to face the competition of the Irish and Italian laborer.[61] It was said in 1913, however, that the Negro hod carrier had almost driven the whites out of business.[62] In some cases, as in East St. Louis, Illinois, the opposition was very bitter and the Negroes were brutally treated and continually threatened with violence. Only the firm stand of the employers in this instance left this employment open to Negroes.[63] Throughout the North and West, nevertheless, Negroes worked to a considerable extent as helpers in the building trades.[64]

The Negro hod carriers, unlike the artisans, had little trouble securing admittance to the Hod Carriers' Union in either the North or the Border States. In addition, they were usually taken into mixed unions. This was principally because of the menace they constituted to the whites in these pursuits as a result of their numerical strength.[65] In Philadelphia there was a local composed mainly of Negroes with a president[66] of their own. In Pittsburgh also the Hod Carriers' Union was composed mainly of Negroes. In St. Louis, 800 Negroes were enrolled in a Hod Carriers' Union in 1914 and received wages of $4.00 a day for eight hours' work.[67] In Cincinnati, Ohio, where Negroes were excluded from the carpenter, plasterer, bricklayer, plumber, painter, and barber unions, they already had access to the Hod Carriers.[68]

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[58] *Outlook*, LXII, p. 33.

[59] *Tradesman*, July 28, 1902; *Proceedings of the Hampton Negro Conference*, July 1900, p. 25.

[60] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

[61] *Gunton's Magazine*, X, pp. 55, 56; *Atlantic Monthly*, LXXXI, p. 228; *Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor*, 1904, p. 245.

[62] Wright, "The Negro in Unskilled Labor," in the *Annals of the American Academy*, etc., Sept., 1913, p. 24.

[63] Crossland, *Industrial Conditions Among Negroes in St. Louis*, p. 69.

[64] Ovington, *The Negro in the Trade Unions of New York*, *op. cit.*, p. 69; Brandt, *The Negro in St. Louis*, *op. cit.*, pp. 35, 36; Wright, R. R., *The Negro in Pennsylvania*, p. 94; Crossland, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

[65] Brackett, *op. cit.*, pp. 375, 376.

Despite the loss of the Negroes in the trades in the South signs pointed to the larger participation of the Negroes in the industrial life of that section. The most hopeful was the realization of the fact by white employers that Negroes were gradually becoming more efficient and adapting themselves more and more as industrial laborers.[69] A barrel manufacturer of Jonesboro, Alabama, told an investigator in 1893 that he hired Negroes because he "found it difficult to get white men who would work steadily."[70] Governor Chandler of Georgia, who had been a contractor, certified in 1900 that he had noticed an improvement in many of the black artisans and that some of the best bricklayers he had were Negroes.[71]

In 1891, 196 employers of 7,393 Negroes, 978 of whom were reported to be skilled laborers, considered black labor, on the whole, as satisfactory and increasing in efficiency. Of these employers 67 noticed the increased efficiency of the Negroes. These owners employed 2,413 men. On the other hand, 43 employers of 2,276 reported no improvement, with fifteen employers of 1,369 laborers still in doubt as to the Negroes' industrial efficiency. Most of these Negroes were unskilled laborers, only 879, or less than one-tenth, being skilled workers. The majority of these manufacturers also failed to sanction the different wage scale as between whites and blacks, where the skill was equal.[72]

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[66] Wright, R. R., *The Negro in Pennsylvania*, pp. 94, 95.

[67] Crossland, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

[68] Quillin, *Color Line in Ohio*, p. 130.

[69] *Tradesman*, Aug. 13, 1891, pp. 31, 32, 44; Oct. 15, 1902, p. 56; *Baltimore Manufacturers Record*, Sept. 22, 1893, pp. 130, 135; *Nation*, Sept. 7, 1891, p. 209; *Negro American Artisan*, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

[70] *Outlook*, May, 1899, LXII, p. 32.

[71] *Report of the U. S. Industrial Commission*, VII, p. 539.

There was considerable evidence as to the worth of Negro labor. As a result of the investigation made by the Baltimore *Manufacturers Record* in 1893, that journal was fair enough to conclude that color had nothing to do with industrial efficiency.[73] The returns from a joint survey in 1901 were also favorable to the efficiency of Negro labor.[74] Replies were received from 500 manufacturing plants. Of these, 344, or about two-thirds, employed Negroes. Out of this number 209, employing 27,000 persons, reported 12,840 Negroes of whom 2,600, or about one-fifth, were skilled or semi-skilled. Concerning the efficiency of these Negro workers, a majority, 150 concerns, said that they compared favorably with the whites, 91 said they compared unfavorably, and 13 concerns failed to express an opinion either way. For heavy work calling for endurance almost all united in saying that the Negro common laborer is far superior to the white labor that is procurable in the South. As to whether the Negro was improving in efficiency the replies were not so favorable. Eighty-seven replied in the affirmative, ninety-one in the negative, and others failed to answer or did so evasively.

In answer to the question whether they intended to continue employing Negroes, the reply was overwhelmingly in the affirmative. The reports seemed to indicate that little first class skilled Negro labor was available, which was to be expected considering the fact that the antecedents of the Negro in America had been largely agricultural; yet it was reported that in "certain industries, the semi-skilled Negro was especially desirable, and as common laborers they were in almost every instance considered preferable to southern white labor.''[74a]

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[72] *The Tradesman*, Aug. 15, 1891, pp. 31, 32.

[73] *The Manufacturers Record*, 1891, pp. 31, 32. A much more comprehensive inquiry was undertaken by *The Tradesman* in 1901 with the coöperation of Hampton, Tuskegee, and Atlanta University. A large number of questionnaires were distributed to manufacturers and other employers of Negro labor. Such questions were asked as the number of Negroes employed, the number performing skilled labor, their efficiency as compared with that of the whites, their education, the effect of education upon the laborer, whether or not they were growing in efficiency, and whether the employers still intended to hire them.

[74] *Tradesman*, Oct. 15, 1902, p. 52.

It is interesting to note the replies in reference to the effect of education upon the Negro worker. The general tenor of the replies indicated that it was not salutary. Sixty-seven concerns reported good, and 95 either failed to report or did so in such a vague manner as to render their opinions impossible of classification. Very few of the workmen had any education beyond the rudiments of the three ''R's.'' Only about 40 per cent could read, write, and cipher. Practically all firms investigated expressed the opinion that the Negro required industrial training to equip himself as an efficient worker.

Efforts at such training had been given in Negro industrial schools in the South since 1868, when it was introduced at Hampton.[75] Subsequently, Booker T. Washington, who was appointed principal of Tuskegee Institute in 1881, became the celebrated advocate of such practical education. In his opinion, the Negro could only hope to rise in proportion as he rendered himself economically efficient. ''What the race most needs,'' said Mr. Washington, ''is a whole army of men and women well trained to lead and at the same time infuse themselves into agriculture, mechanics, domestic employment, and business.''[76] He did not underestimate the value of cultural education but felt that it should be coördinated with practical instruction in order that it might bring out the best in the Negro. Although other Negro leaders differed widely from Mr. Washington and set up an opposing camp of thought as to the solution of the Negro problem,[77] industrial training schools

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[74a] *The Tradesman,* Aug. 15, 1891, pp. 31-32.

[75] The manual labor schools of one hundred years ago had undertaken practically the same thing, operating on the principle that a man should earn what he learns, but these institutions failed.

[76] *Future of the American Negro,* p. 227.

[77] The other faction contended that the Negro could attain the same position through the leverage of the ballot and the vindication of his rights as an American citizen. The leader of this group was Dr. W. E. B. Dubois.

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were rapidly established throughout the South where the youth received instruction in domestic art, personal service, carpentry, bricklaying, blacksmithing, engineering, and scientific agriculture.[78]

The effect of the industrial schools upon the increase of Negro artisans, which is our chief concern here, however, is dubious. No doubt a splendid work had been achieved by the impetus given to education both of the mind and hand, but the desired results from the special training emphasized did not follow. Several factors, however, have tended to make it impossible for these schools to do what was expected of them. In the first place, so many students who learned trades in these institutions did so with the idea that they would work at them only if they could not teach, go into some sort of business, or practice a profession. Furthermore, the competition with white mechanics, which compelled the blacks to work on a smaller wage scale, did not make the field inviting.

Another thing of importance was the defect in the training acquired by the Negro youth in the industrial schools. Such education did not actually fit them for a place in the industrial scheme of the country. In 1900 there were 98 schools in the United States offering industrial training to Negroes. Yet a survey in 1902 found that the instruction received was neither sufficiently advanced nor technical enough to enable the graduates to compete successfully with white artisans. It was said by the investigator that *"Negro youth are being taught the technique of a rapidly disappearing age of handwork."* It was also said that the training of such artisans in hand and bench work in a machine age would only relegate them to jobbers, tinkers, and repair men after their graduation.[79] The report continued, "Modern wood-working involves elaborate machinery and training in machine methods. In nearly all these schools 'carpentry' is confined to hand tools and bench work. Blacksmithing and forging are taught by the simplest tools and not by modern power methods. . . . Shoe repairing is taught but there is little or no use made of shoe machinery which is universally in vogue. Wheels and wagons are made chiefly by hand and at a cost which would make competition with machine made wagons impossible."[80] Regardless of the beneficent physical and mental results, the survey concluded that if used as means of livelihood, such work would command the poor and decreasing wages and those who follow these methods would be completely shut out of modern machine industry. Only at Hampton, Tuskegee, Wilberforce, and a few other schools, it was said, did machine industry have a place in the teaching of the trades, and if all the graduates of these institutions had been efficient workers and had remained in the trades, they would not have been sufficient to take the places of the antebellum mechanics then rapidly passing away.

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[78] One of the greatest single impulses to the aid of industrial training for Negroes was the gift of a million dollars in 1882 by the John F. Slater Fund for uplift of the Negroes in the South by conferring upon them the blessings of a Christian education. "This money was given to a board of trustees who endorsed manual and industrial education and resolved to support schools offering such instruction. This policy was subsequently adopted. General Agent Haygood, the first to have charge of this fund, reported in 1891 after almost a decade of service, "Every one known to me, earnestly desires to extend its work in this direction. At the beginning many doubted, some opposed and not a few were indifferent. At this time no experienced teacher in Negro schools entertains so much as a doubt as to the desirableness and usefulness of this very important element of education."—*Proceedings of the Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund.*

In the North also, efforts were being put forth to fit the Negro workers to play a larger part in the industrial life of the community. In New York, where Negro artisans were conspicuous chiefly because of their paucity, evening industrial schools were being opened to offer instruction in the trades. A vocational school for boys was opened there in 1909, to give them training in many of the arts.[81] About the same time, a mechanics' association was started for the purpose of bringing together Negroes who had learned a trade irrespective of whether they were following their vocation at the time. It was hoped that friendships would be stimulated which would make for a larger participation in the trades.[82] In other States manual training courses were offered in the public schools. These courses, although frequently pursued by Negro students, availed them little, since opportunity for their working at the skilled trades was usually lacking.

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[79] *The Negro American Artisan*, p. 120.

[80] *Ibid.*, p. 120.

[81] "In this school instruction will be given in wood-working, both bench and lathe; mechanical drawing, including the making and reading of plans and specifications, working drawings, blue-prints, etc.; machine-shop practice, including the use of the lathe, shaper, planer, drill-press, miller, grinder and other machines, together with bench work, filling, assembling, tool-making, etc. There will also be a thorough course in printing in all its branches. And this committee hopes to see a fair number of colored boys enrolled."—*Survey*, Oct. 2, 1909, p. 5.

Regardless of what has been said *pro* and *con* on this matter, however, two important facts are clear. The Negro skilled workers not only controlled the wages of white labor, but far more important to them, the dual wage system furnished the most potent weapon to offset both the hostility of labor unions and the competition of white workers. But what was of vital concern to the Negro artisans, it still enabled them to retain a hold upon the mechanical trades which were gradually slipping from their grasp.

Despite the various obstacles which confronted the Negro industrial workers in the North and South between 1890 and 1914 and despite the submergence of over four-fifths of their numbers in agriculture and domestic service employments, the Negro had begun a definite movement from these occupations toward manufacturing and mechanical pursuits. As concrete evidence of this industrial progress between 1890 and 1914, the number of Negroes in industry increased from roughly 200,000 in the latter year to approximately 550,000 by the outbreak of the World War. Further proof of this advance is shown by the fact that on the eve of that upheaval the percentage of Negroes in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits had increased to over 10 per cent while 20 years earlier it had been a little over 6 per cent.

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[82] "Under the guidance of the Employment Committee a Mechanics Association was begun last January. Its purpose is to bring colored men who have learned trades into acquaintance with one another and, in this way, to stimulate friendships that shall work for the solidifying of the race without creating, at the same time, those antagonisms for the men of other races that have at times marred efforts at solidification. Dues in the Association are nominal. The secretary of the committee is also the secretary of the Association, which now numbers 53 members, gathered from the ranks of union and non-union workmen and others who have learned their trades but are now engaged in other work."—*Survey*, Oct. 2, 1909, p. 5.

CHAPTER XI

AGRICULTURE AFTER 1917

It has been shown that up to the World War the Negro workers were largely confined to farm labor and domestic and personal service. Of these more than one-half were tillers of the soil. In spite of this fact, however, by 1914 there was evident a definite movement of Negro workers from the farm toward skilled and semi-skilled factory labor. The first concrete evidence of this tendency was shown between 1900 and 1910 when the number of Negroes engaged in industry more than doubled during that period. Within the sixteen-year span since 1914, however, several factors have so influenced Negro labor as to accelerate the movement of workers of this race toward skilled industrial employment. This has also brought in its wake a decline in the proportion of Negroes engaged in agricultural pursuits and domestic and personal service from 81.7 per cent in 1910 to 67.3 per cent in 1920.

TABLE 34.—DISTRIBUTION OF NEGROES IN THE FIVE MAIN GROUPS OF OCCUPATIONS IN 1920

Name	Number	Per Cent
Agricultural pursuits	2,178,888	45.2
Domestic and personal service	1,064,590	22.1
Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits	960,039	19.9
Trade and transportation	540,451	11.2
Professional service	80,183	1.7

The unusual drift to factory employment is demonstrated by the census figures for 1920. At that time the Negroes were distributed in the several pursuits as shown by the accompanying table. It will be seen that at the close of this period agriculture still constituted the dominant occupation for Negroes. The data herein set forth show that nearly one-half of the Negroes were still engaged in farm labor either as field hands, farmers, or tenants. Yet since the beginning of the World War this class has suffered a marked decline. Whereas there were 2,881,454 Negroes listed as agricultural workers on the eve of the World War, by 1920, as a result of the migration of 1916-1918, their number had decreased to 2,178,888, a loss of 702,566, or 24.3 per cent.[1]

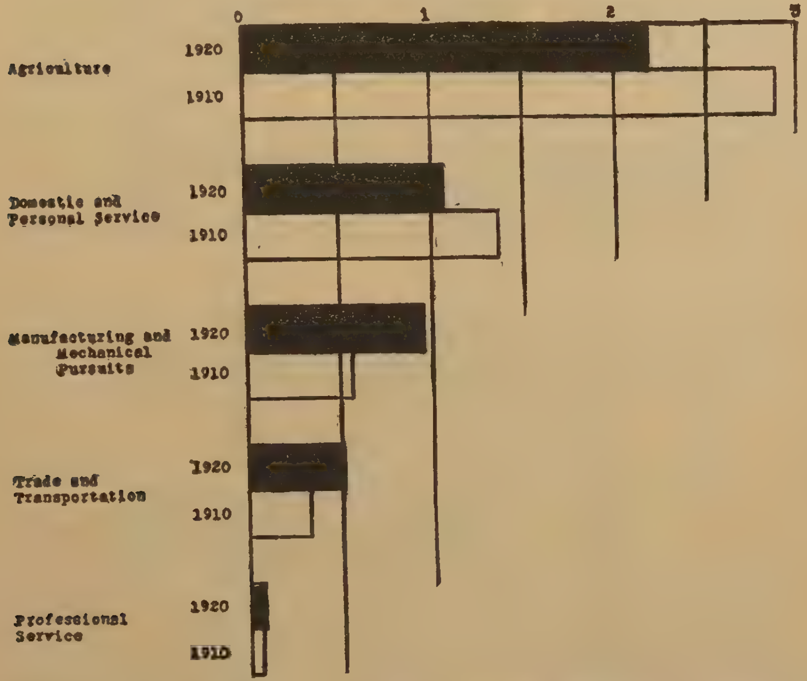

Diagram 10.—Comparative Numbers of Negroes Employed in the Five Main Groups of Occupations, by Millions, 1910 to 1920.

The causes of the large decrease in Negro farm laborers may be ascribed to various factors. Paramount among them was the demand for laborers in the factories of the North and Middle West caused by the outbreak of the

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[1] *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Commerce and Labor of the State of Georgia for the year ending Dec. 31, 1924*, p. 1; *Literary Digest*, June 23, 1923. The number was estimated at 478,000.

World War.[2] The labor supply for this work had been recruited formerly from foreign immigrants. These foreigners in the five years up to and including 1914 had flocked to the United States at an average rate of over 1,000,000 a year. The War so curtailed this labor supply of immigrants that in 1915 this number had shrunk to 326,700, a little more than one-fourth of the aliens admitted in 1914. By 1918 the total incoming aliens shrunk to the meager total of 110,618.[3] After the World War restrictive immigration laws were enacted which in 1924 cut down the labor supply considerably by reducing incoming aliens to 2 per cent of their quota of citizens resident in the United States in 1890.[4] Thus was brought about another shortage of labor, as shown in the table below.

TABLE 35.—DECREASE IN NUMBER OF IMMIGRANTS, 1910-1929

Year	Number
1910	1,041,570
1911	878,587
1912	838,172
1913	1,197,892
1914	1,218,480
1915	326,700
1916	298,826
1917	295,403
1918	110,618
1919	141,132
1920	430,001
1921	805,228
1922	309,556
1923	522,919
1924	706,896
1925	457,086
1926	304,488
1927	335,175
1928	165,977
1929	279,678

An immediate effect of the semi-stoppage of immigration was the urgent need of common laborers to fill the places vacated by the foreign workers. And the only reserve labor force available was the Southern Negroes. It was to the

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[2] Donald, *The Migration of 1916-1918, passim;* and Woodson, *A Century of Negro Migration*, Chapter IX.

[3] U. S. Bureau of Immigration, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Immigration, 1922, p. 108.

[4] U. S. Laws Statutes, etc., 1923-1924, Section 1-a, *An Act to Limit the Immigration of Aliens into the United States*, etc., 68th Congress, 1st Session.

South, therefore, that industrial establishments, railroads, and other employers of large numbers of workers turned for help in their extremity.[5]

Oddly enough, the labor shortage in the North and the West occurred just as certain conditions in the South were making agricultural conditions there intolerable. Foremost among these was the boll weevil, which, entering the United States from Mexico in 1892, had invaded the Black Belt by 1914, destroying cotton to the value of hundreds of millions of dollars, demoralizing staple production, and bankrupting the farmers. In many cases planters, unable to "carry" the tenants over the planting season or to pay their farm-hands, were forced to close their commissaries and advise their tenants and hands to leave. In some places, as Mississippi, the boll weevil rendered cotton production unprofitable. Then to make matters worse short cotton crops were

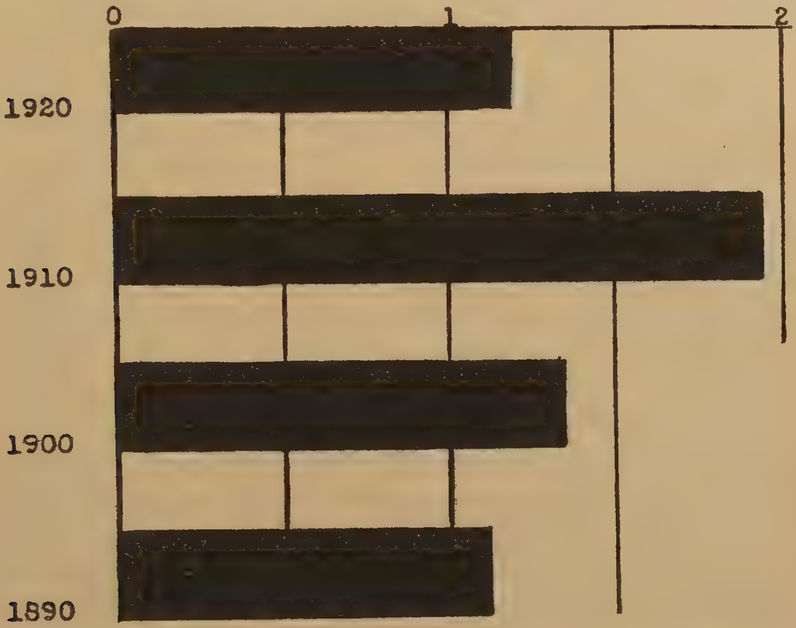

DIAGRAM 11.—INCREASE AND DECREASE IN NUMBERS OF FARM LABORERS, IN MILLIONS, FROM 1890 TO 1920.

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[5] *The Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Immigration, 1923-1929.*

followed by destructive storms and inundations in 1916.

Still another cause of discontent among the Negro farm population in the South was the extremely low wages paid as compared to wages in the industrial section. Farm laborers in the South, as we have seen, rarely received more than 75 cents a day. The average monthly wage for such labor just before the War was only $13.77 with board in the South Atlantic States and $19.75 without board. In the South Central Division the wages were somewhat higher, although still small. The monthly stipend there was $15.28 with board and $21.96 without board. In Alabama and Georgia the wage scale in 1916 ranged from 40 cents to 75 cents a day. $1.00 was a maximum.[6] The average wage for farm labor in the North and West was almost twice that in the South.[7] This small compensation caused one writer to remark that "the world has gone on thinking that the farm laborer in the South should work for 75 cents to $1.00 a day when all other labor is getting $1.50 and $2.00 a day."[8] In contrast to these meager wages paid the farm hand in the South were the opportunities to earn from $2.50 to $3.75 a day in the industrial centers as will be shown later.

TABLE 36.—AVERAGE WAGES OF FARM LABOR IN UNITED STATES, 1910-1922

Section	Average Wage with Board			Average Wage without Board		
	1910	1920	1922	1910	1920	1922
North Atlantic	$27.65	51.92	37.14	$33.90	75.54	55.82
South Atlantic	13.77	35.75	27.12	19.75	50.36	31.72
North Central (East) .	22.94	51.49	33.35	31.81	70.09	46.71
North Central (West) .	25.10	59.63	33.63	35.45	79.79	47.14
South Central	15.28	36.53	22.33	21.96	51.94	32.09
Far Western..........	32.69	73.21	45.57	46.48	99.43	66.03

The disclosure that in some of the Southern States Negro

[6] Scott, *Negro Migration during the War*, p. 16; U. S. Bureau of Labor, *Negro Migration in 1916-17*, p. 100.

[7] U. S. Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, *Statistical Abstract of the U. S.*, 1922, pp. 284-285.

[8] Haynes, *The Negro at Work during the World War and during Reconstruction, passim.*

tenants and laborers, in many instances, were reduced to a state of bondage by their landlords and were ruthlessly murdered when they attempted to secure their freedom, as in the Arkansas riots of 1919, also served as a contributing cause of the decrease in farm laborers who availed themselves of the opportunity to escape from the thraldom of peonage. The appalling conditions in Jasper County, Georgia, in 1921, when eleven Negro peons were murdered under the orders of the plantation owner, evoked a condemnation of this system, which also stimulated the movement of Negroes from the South. In other cases Negroes were forced to quit the plantations and Negro owners compelled to leave their farms by the Ku Klux Klan and other lawless whites.[9] Even now Negroes are held virtually as slaves on many of the Southern plantations.[10] Other unfavorable social conditions such as inferior or entire lack of school facilities, injustice in the courts, the insecurity of life and property, segregation on railroads and conveyances—all aided the migration.[11]

None of these social conditions, however, can be designated as chief causes of the migration of Negroes from the farms. The fundamental cause, as already shown above, was an economic one. If such were not so the Negroes, long ago, would have deserted the South. But history shows that people are disposed to endure social ills until they are assured that they can better their economic condition by migrating elsewhere. The latter is fundamental. This has been borne out not only by the Jews in Russia, Poland, Spain and elsewhere,[12] but in the case of the millions of foreigners who have flocked to America seeking larger economic opportunities.[13] The same applies to the Negro.

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[9] "A statement from Governor Hugh M. Dorsey as to the Negro in Georgia," *passim*, *Nation*, April 6, 1921.

[10] *Memphis Triangle*, Aug. 18, 1929.

[11] *Montgomery Advertiser* (Alabama), Sept. 22, 1917; *Scribner's Magazine*, March, 1921, p. 337; *Nation*, Feb. 8, 1917, p. 149.

[12] Dubnov, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland* (2 vols.), *passim*.

[13] The U. S. Immigration Committee as the result of its extensive investigation into the Problem of Immigration concluded that the foreign influx to America was primarily an economic problem.—*Report*, I, p. 25.

A general migration of the Negroes to the North before 1916 would have been tantamount to economic suicide, for foreigners, as already pointed out, were firmly entrenched in the positions to which the Negroes were ultimately to succeed.

Thus at the same time when Northern industries, railroads and other businesses were turning toward Southern Negroes to fill the large labor vacuum in the North, the Negroes because of unfavorable economic and social conditions were ready for a change of any sort purporting to ameliorate their circumstances. The result was an exodus of Negroes from the South on a scale hitherto unparalleled. The number of Negroes who migrated between 1915 and 1918 can never be ascertained with any degree of exactitude on account of the unobtrusive manner in which many Negroes left. Estimates ranging between 150,000 and 400,000 are only approximate.

The impression to be made, however, is that the exodus was not solely from the rural districts. The towns were first drained of the available laborers, then the farm Negroes were brought in to take the places vacated by those who had left for Northern points.[14] Soon thereafter these newcomers followed in the wake of their predecessors, answering the call either of higher wages or of better social conditions in the North and East. Especially was this the case in cities like Birmingham and Hattiesburg.

As a result of this confused and leaderless movement of Negroes toward the industrial centers the number of Negroes engaged in agriculture fell off alarmingly. This is well illustrated by the 1920 Census figures which show that there took place a decrease of almost three-quarters of a million of the Negro farm workers between 1910 and 1920. The greatest decrease was shown by the Negro farm laborers whose numbers rapidly declined as they were beckoned to come to the industrial centers.

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[14] Scott, *Negro Migration During the War*, p. 40.

The exodus of Negro farm laborers from 1922 to 1923[15] in answer to the call for industrial laborers in Northern industries together with restricted immigration in these years resulted in another large decrease in the Negro agricultural workers.[16] Almost a half million finally answered this call. The United States Department of Labor placed the number at 478,000.[17] This movement but reflected the general trend of the American population away from the farms and was by no means peculiar to the Negro. The farm population of the United States has decreased by more than 3,000,000 since 1910.[18] As a result of the shortage of labor caused by the Negroes and the necessity of diversified farming brought about by the depredations of the boll weevil a reorganization of agriculture has taken place in the South. The Negro farm hands in these progressive sections are gradually becoming wage hands paid a definite monetary sum in lieu of the old share cropping system. Most of them, however, are still share croppers bound by verbal contracts and receiving a small monthly or annual wage with a part of the crop. As wage hands in some localities, especially in Texas, however, Negroes have to face the competition of the Mexicans who supply a large part of the demand for labor in that section. Yet where Mexicans are used the Negro is largely non-resident, as in the New Mexico, Arizona, and California cotton fields. A considerable number of Negro farm hands, attracted by higher wages and better treatment, migrated to the cotton producing regions of Southeastern Missouri.[19]

The decrease in the Negro farm operators like that of the laborers may be ascribed largely to the cause tending to diminish the number of laborers. Especially was this true of the Negro tenants, who depended almost solely upon their cotton crop for their livelihood. As a result many migrated overnight, leaving their crop in the fields. In the Black Belt where diversified farming became a necessity, due to the inability to raise cotton, factors and planters hesitated to make loans to Negro farmers upon grain or other crops with the cultivation of which the Negro had had very little experience. As a result many of them left the farms of their own volition. Consequently there was reported also a marked reduction in the number of Negro farm operators after 1910. At that time there were 879,600 Negro farmers, planters, and overseers in the United States. By 1925 the total number of these in the South had decreased to 831,455, a probable loss of almost 50,000. The greatest losses of these groups occurred between 1920 and 1925. The number of Negro farm owners in 1920 was 218,612. In 1925 in the South alone there were 194,540.[20] Thus

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[15] In the latter year 2,881,454 Negroes were listed either as farmers or laborers. By 1920 only 2,178,888 were reported.

[16] U. S. Dept. of Labor, *Release*, Oct. 24, 1923.

[17] *Census Monographs* No. 22, p. 45.

[18] *Current History*, Aug. 1928, p. 763.

[19] *Biennial Report of the Missouri Negro Industrial Commission*, 1920-21; *Monthly Labor Review*. XX, 1925, p. 988.

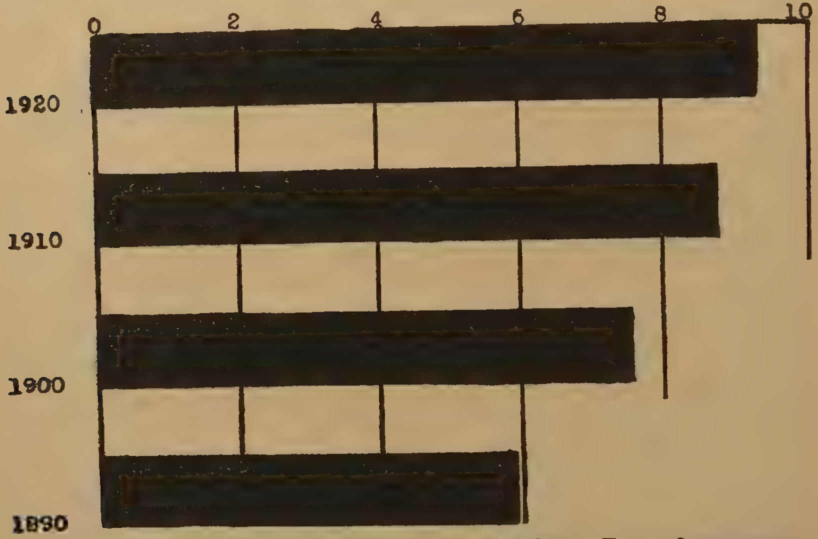

DIAGRAM 12.—COMPARATIVE NUMBERS OF ALL NEGRO FARM OPERATORS, BY HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS, 1890 TO 1920.

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[20] U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Farm Tenancy in the United States in 1920*, *op. cit.*, p. 73; *United States Census of Agriculture*, 1925, p. 14. The Census for 1925 includes only colored farmers in the South. The few Negro farmers in the North and West thus omitted are no doubt balanced by the Indians included in the South.

the Negro farm owners proportionately decreased during these five years, for the number of Negro farmers in the North and West could not have been sufficient to show a different tendency.

The Negro farm owners had been only slightly affected up to 1920, decreasing by only 360 or about 0.2 per cent from 1900 to 1910.[21] After the World War, however, the failure of the cotton crop in some sections for three successive years following the high prices of 1919-1920, and the general slump in the price of other farm products resulted in the reduction of thousands of Negro farm owners to a state of extreme poverty. Thus, unlike the exodus of 1916-1918, which affected chiefly the laborers in the Northward movement, many Negro farm owners, either because of the inability to cope with the boll weevil, because of insecurity of life and property, or because of lack of capital to begin farming on a mixed basis, sold their farms for little or nothing and moved to the North.

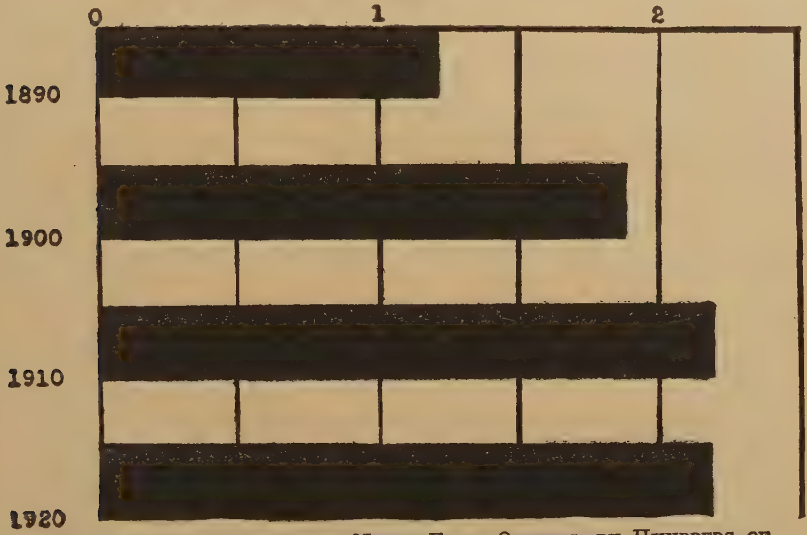

DIAGRAM 13.—INCREASE OF NEGRO FARM OWNERS, BY HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS, 1890 TO 1920.

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[21] U. S. Bureau of the Census, "Farm Tenancy in the United States" in *Census Monographs, No. 4*, 1924, p. 73.

The decrease in the Negro farm operators occurred chiefly in the Northern States between 1910 and 1920. With the exception of the Far Western and Pacific States Negro farm owners diminished during this period as shown in the table. The reasons for the reduction of the already small number of Negro farmers in those sections may be ascribed largely to industrial and business opportunities which unexpectedly opened up for the Negroes in the North. Small increases in Negro owners and tenants occurred in the Far West. The losses sustained by Negro farm operators in the South between 1910 and 1920 appeared chiefly in the East South Central Division including Tennessee, Alabama and Mississippi.[22] That these States suffered

TABLE 37.—COMPARATIVE NUMBER OF NEGRO FARM OWNERS, TENANTS AND MANAGERS BY SECTIONS, 1910-1920

Division or State and Census Year	Negroes			
	Total	Owners	Managers	Tenants
United States ....1920.....	925,708	218,612	2,026	705,070
1910.....	893,370	218,972	1,434	672,964
Geographic Divisions:				
New England ....1920.....	242	192	17	33
1910.....	310	240	19	51
Middle Atlantic ......1920.....	1,227	697	86	444
1910.....	1,310	793	70	447
East-North Central ...1920.....	3,674	2,335	66	1,273
1910.....	4,843	3,095	71	1,677
West-North Central...1920.....	4,237	2,525	73	1,639
1910.....	5,589	3,370	64	2,155
South Atlantic ....1920.....	382,278	102,056	956	279,266
1910.....	354,530	101,135	719	252,676
East-South Central ...1920.....	307,006	55,488	406	251,112
1910.....	324,884	58,610	249	266,025
West-South Central ..1920.....	226,311	54,821	397	171,093
1910.....	201,422	51,342	222	149,858
Mountain ....1920.....	349	239	10	100
1910.....	219	176	9	34
Pacific ....1920.....	384	259	15	110
1910.....	263	211	11	41

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[22] United States Department of Commerce Bureau of the Census—*Farm Statistics by Race, Nativity and Sex of Farmer Agriculture* (reprint of Chapter V, Vol. V.), p. 311.

heaviest from the ravages of the boll weevil accounts in a large measure for the Negroes quitting the farms. Owners and tenants alike decreased by almost 2,000 in Virginia and by over 1,000 in Florida. In the case of the former State, the Negroes availed themselves of the opportunity to escape from the worn out tobacco lands to Northern industrial centers. In Florida, the boll weevil and other economic and social causes, as already shown, made for this reduction. Oddly enough, however, Negro farm operators of all kinds actually increased in Georgia, South Carolina, and North Carolina during this period. This shows that the exodus of thousands of Negro farm operators afforded an opening for a considerable number of Negro farm hands to ascend to a higher status.[23]

This development is illustrated by the fact that out of the approximate 194,000 colored farm owners in the South in 1925 more than one-fourth of them had purchased their farms since 1919. Among the tenants this tendency is even more manifest, for out of the 612,250 listed in the South in 1925, 516,710 or almost seven-eighths had rented these lands since 1919. Even more significant is the fact that over 230,000 or more than one-third of them had held these lands less than one year in 1925, which indicates that tenants in that year replaced thousands of Negroes who forsook the farms in 1922 and 1923, as the accompanying table shows.[24]

Not only did the number of Negro farmers decrease between 1910 and 1925, but the total farm acreage under the ownership or direction of Negro farmers likewise diminished. Negro farmers actually controlled almost a million fewer acres of land in 1925 than in 1910. In 1910 they held under their control either through ownership, rental or tenancy 42,279,510 acres of land. By 1920, however, this total acreage had dropped to 41,432,182 acres, showing the first reduction since the Civil War.

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[23] *Ibid.*, p. 312.
[24] *U. S. Census of Agriculture*, 1925, p. 88.

Notwithstanding the decrease in the acreage of Negro farms, the value of such property almost doubled during this period, rising from $1,141,792,526 in 1910 to $2,257,645,325 in 1920. The increased valuation of Negro farm property in the face of a decrease in land acreage and also

TABLE 38.—LENGTH OF TENURE FOR COLORED FARM OWNERS, TENANTS AND MANAGERS IN THE SOUTH, 1925

Item and Tenure	Number
All farmers reporting	3,042,419
Owners	1,479,490
Colored	188,945
Less than 1 year	12,323
1 year	5,784
2 years	7,082
3 years	7,331
4 years	15,224
5 to 6 years	16,387
7 to 8 years	11,005
9 to 10 years	13,983
11 to 14 years	21,941
15 years and over	77,885
Managers	10,560
Colored	638
Less than 1 year	178
1 year	83
2 years	68
3 years	54
4 years	56
5 to 6 years	58
7 to 8 years	20
9 to 10 years	21
11 to 14 years	38
15 years and over	62
Tenants	1,552,369
Colored	612,250
Less than 1 year	232,104
1 year	84,756
2 years	65,089
3 years	43,786
4 years	52,138
5 to 6 years	38,843
7 to 8 years	20,744
9 to 10 years	19,584
11 to 14 years	19,869
15 years and over	35,337

in Negro farm owners may be ascribed in part to the inflated values which obtained during and immediately after the World War, and is, therefore, more apparent than real. To make the comparison here accurate the purchasing power of the dollar at these various periods must be taken into consideration.[25] The valuation in 1925 was not shown by the Census report of that year. The value of buildings, implements and machinery on Negro farms has always been comparatively small. Negro farmers have been concerned

TABLE 39.—THE ACREAGE AND VALUE OF FARMS OPERATED BY NEGROES, BY DIVISIONS OF STATES, 1920

Division and State	Acreage of all land in farms	Acreage of improved land in farms	Value of farms (land and buildings)
United States	41,432,182	27,928,900	$2,257,645,325
Geographic Divisions:			
New England	19,252	6,802	1,076,815
Middle Atlantic	72,897	48,260	6,937,600
East North Central	239,783	183,559	22,308,742
West North Central	436,021	288,831	29,509,307
South Atlantic	18,151,071	11,409,100	981,677,765
East South Central	12,104,977	8,536,183	645,828,371
West South Central	10,288,193	7,416,824	563,499,506
Mountain	77,249	21,291	2,523,814
Pacific	42,739	18,050	4,283,405
	1910		
United States	42,279,510	27,845,190	1,141,792,526
	Increase, 1910-1920		
United States	—847,328	83,710	1,115,852,799
	Per Cent Increase, 1910-1920		
United States	—2.0	0.3	97.7

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[25] United States Census of Agriculture, *Farm Statistics by Race, Nativity, and Sex of Farmer, 1920*, pp. 309, 313.

first with the purchasing of land, then with the buying of plows and tractors and the raising of hogs. During this period, however, they have tended to increase the value of farm buildings, the figure rising from $176,574,675 in 1910 to $408,021,828 in 1920. Implements and machinery on colored farms likewise increased from approximately $37,742,039 in 1910 to $103,451,769 in 1920, thus showing that some strides had been made by these farmers in improving their methods of cultivation. Live stock on colored farms including poultry, swine, milch cows, horses, and mules also increased from $204,758,696 to $335,301,101.[26]

For the same reasons, either because of inability to secure financial backing for mixed crops or through the boll weevil and other handicaps, the Negro cash tenants suffered the greatest decline since 1890. Within fifteen years they decreased by more than two-thirds. This is shown by a comparison of the colored cash tenants in the South between 1910 and 1925. Whereas there were 260,966 such tenants in 1910, by 1925 only 78,760 remained in the South. There was a large decrease elsewhere during this period, but because of incomplete data with respect to the whole country it cannot now be estimated.

Share tenant farmers of all classes have likewise tended to decrease. It was asserted in 1923 that in Baldwin County, Georgia, the Negro tenants were fleeing before the boll weevil at the rate of from fifty to one hundred a week. "Already," commented the *Christian Science Monitor*, "one out of every four tenant homes is vacant."[27] Another grievance which the share tenants suffered was peonage which caused many of them to flee from the plantations. The decrease in the share tenants, moreover, has been accelerated by the wage system now becoming more and more general in the South, as shown above.

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[26] These figures are for colored farmers including, therefore, a few thousand Indian farmers in the South and West and a number of Japanese and Chinese farmers in the Far West. Their numbers, compared with the Negro farmers have no relative significance, but their farm valuation is relatively greater. This is demonstrated by the fact that the value of farms owned by Indians, Japanese, and Chinese was $711,051,297 in 1920 or a litle more than one-third of the total valuation of farms operated by colored farmers.—*U. S. Bureau of the Census of Agriculture, 1920*, "Reprint of Chapter IV," p. 194.

[27] *Literary Digest*, Aug. 18, p. 14.

Negro farm managers due to the preference for white overseers have almost disappeared since the World War. On account of the difficulty of securing white managers during the conflict the number of Negro managers decidedly increased at that time as in other fields in urgent need of help. Since 1920, however, a large decrease has taken place among these workers in the South. In 1920 there were 1,200 colored farm managers in this section. By 1925, only 667 remained. This was a loss of 533 or 44.4 per cent during a fifteen year period. The decrease was much more rapid between 1920 and 1925 when the number for the whole country fell from 1,770 to 667.[28]

The number of Negro dairymen, stockraisers, gardeners, florists and nurserymen, always inconsiderable, has likewise decreased since the World War. These decreases were due to various causes already set forth as diminishing other elements of the farming population, and do not require extensive comment here.

Fewer Negroes were also employed in turpentine farming. This was due partly to the migration, which was especially heavy among turpentine laborers,[29] and to the destructive methods employed by such farmers. The number of Negroes in the industry has been reduced by almost 50 per cent since 1910. In 1920 there were but 14,378 Negro turpentine laborers whereas in 1910 there were 24,630. Sixty-one of these in 1920 were independent turpentine farmers. The turpentine industry has recently shown signs of rehabilitation, the total number of employees increasing from 29,413 in 1925 to 37,913 in 1927. The value of the product, however, was less in 1927 than in 1925.[30]

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[28] *Agriculture Statistics by Race, Nativity, and Sex of Farmer, 1920*, p. 311; *U. S. Census of Agriculture*, 1925, p. 14.

[29] In 1914 a turpentine company employing 600 Negroes worked them for five months without a pay day, allowing them only board and lodging as compensation. The migration was especially heavy among such laborers.

[30] *U. S. Census of Manufactures*, 1925, p. 21; *U. S. Census of Manufactures*, 1927, p. 21.

The increase among Negro lumbermen, raftsmen and woodchoppers has been only normal. This was due to migration among these workers [31] and a general lull in the lumber business. In 1920 there were 25,609 engaged in this occupation as against 23,034 in 1910. The lumber business was beginning to show signs of increasing activity in 1923,[32] doubtless as a result of the resumption of the construction of houses which decidedly declined after the excessive building program of the World War.

The present trend of Negroes from the farm, especially of the Negro farm owners and independent renters, has caused much concern. With the decline of agriculture in the South since the World War, the general low state of farming throughout the country and the waning fertility of the cotton growing soil, many farmers have become dissatisfied with rural conditions. In order to check this movement several agencies have coöperated in an effort to render farming more attractive and profitable to the Negro. One method of aiding the Negro farmers has been through a system of coöperative buying and marketing. In this manner the farmers are able to buy supplies and implements more cheaply while receiving a larger margin on their sales.[33] Coöperative buying and marketing have also been fostered by the United States Department of Agriculture and the Land Grant Colleges in the Southern States. Speaking of the benefits of such to Negroes in several Southern States G. M. Russell said in 1923, ''9,600 white and colored farmers of Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina last year together marketed 180,000,000 pounds of tobacco for prices which brought twice as much as average returns. It (coöperative marketing) also brought success to 175,000 white and colored tobacco farmers in Kentucky and Tennessee and to more than 300,000 cotton growers."[34] The authors also noted such coöperative efforts of Negro farmers in Sussex, Nansemond, and Isle of Wight counties, Virginia, in 1928, and received reports to this effect from other points in the peanut section of Tidewater, Virginia, and North Carolina.

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[31] Such a thought as migrating would appeal to the type of men engaged in this sort of work.

[32] *Hearings Before the Committee on Immigration*, United States Senate, Sixty-seventh Congress, 1st Session, Feb. 1923, pp. 48-49.

[33] Farm organizations, according to the Capper-Volstead Act of 1922, are not included under the Sherman Anti-trust Act as being in restraint of trade. —U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, "Coöperative Marketing of Cotton" in *Bulletin No. 1392*, Jan. 1926, p. 4, *et seq.*

In addition to fostering coöperative agencies the United States Department of Agriculture since 1904 has maintained an Extension Bureau devoted to Negro farmers. Begun 25 years ago, the Bureau placed Negro agents at Tuskegee, Alabama, and later at Hampton Institute. To-day the number of agents has grown to 314, distributed throughout the South. Of these 20 are State supervising agents, 160 are local farm demonstrators, and 116 are home demonstration agents.[35] In 1908 the total sum expended for this work was $4,184.[36] Twenty years later more than one hundred times this amount was spent for work among Negroes, the total disbursements in 1928 amounting to $486,488.[37] The funds are made available by the United States Department of Agriculture, the Smith-Lever Funds, and appropriations from other coöperating State and county agencies.[38] Through the efforts of these workers Negroes are being educated to realize the value of diversified farming, such as the production of corn, peanuts, and potatoes, and the raising of hogs and cattle. Reports of these agents show that they have given hundreds of demonstrations in simple scientific agriculture. They have also aided Negro farmers to secure seed and fertilizer loans.[39]

In this connection should be mentioned the establishment of Farm Loan Banks by the United States Government where both Negro and white farmers may borrow money. The country has been divided up into twelve districts in each of which is located a Federal Farm Loan Bank from which funds may be secured. The method of obtaining advances from these banks is through membership in the National Farm Loan Association. If this is not convenient, ten or more farmers may then apply to the Federal Loan Bank for sums aggregating $20,000 and a charter to do business. The land of these farmers is offered as security and is duly inspected and passed upon by an official of the bank. The money if secured can be expended only for payment on land already purchased, for payment on mortgages, for productive improvements, or for the purchase of live stock, fertilizer, needed drainage, and the like. Loans to individual farmers are limited to $10,000. No farmer, however, may borrow less than $100. A farmer may borrow up to 50 per cent of his total land value and 20 per cent of the value of improvements.

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[34] "Practical Interracial Coöperation" in the *Southern Workman*, Nov. 1923, pp. 510-511.

[35] Interview with J. A. Evans, Head of the Extension Division of the United States Department of Agriculture.

[36] United States Department of Agriculture, *Extension Work Among Negroes*, 1923, p. 6.

[37] Interview with J. A. Evans.

[38] United States Department of Agriculture, *Extension Work Among Negroes*, p. 6.

[39] Stone, P. H., *Report of Men's Work in Georgia*, April 1929.

To some extent, the Negro farmers in the Upper South have availed themselves of this opportunity to improve their condition through the aid of these banks by borrowing money for such purposes. This tendency was noted by a writer, who as early as 1918 reported that "many Negro farmers through farm loan associations of their own or through farm loan associations of white farmers are taking advantage of the Federal Farm Loan opportunities."[40] In 1925 W. S. Scarborough, after a survey of the Negro farmers in several counties of Virginia, where he aided them in securing over $200,000 in loans from Federal Farm Loan Banks, stated that "a signal service has been rendered through these banks to Negro farmers in Southampton County. The colored agriculturists were thus able not only to purchase farms but to get rid of debt for farms already purchased, to fertilize and improve and to meet the various demands of farming activity."[41]

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[40] *Negro Year Book*, 1918-1919, pp. 349-350.

The recently created Federal Farm Board has not been in operation long enough to justify any estimate of the benefits derived therefrom by Negro farmers. On the whole, however, there is so little organization among Negro farmers and especially in the Lower South that they have not been able to derive the maximum benefit from the Federal Farm Banks, neither can they avail themselves of the full advantages of the Federal Farm Board unless there develops among them a movement to bargain collectively instead of individually.

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[41] "One Negro alone secured a loan of $9,000 which is just $1,000 less than the limit, $10,000, set by law for any borrower white or black. Other Negroes received accommodations of $5,000 more or less to free themselves of mortgages that were in the hands of sharks or unscrupulous money dealers. This aid proved invaluable both as encouragement to those primarily interested and as showing others what may be achieved in thirty years allowed for liquidation by semi-annual payments at a low rate of interest and 1 per cent of the principal. It will not be difficult for these people to get on their feet."—W. S. Scarborough in *Current History*, Jan. 1925, p. 566.

CHAPTER XII

DOMESTIC AND PERSONAL SERVICE AFTER 1917

JUST as the Negro farm workers have diminished in numbers since 1910, a similar decline has taken place among the Negroes in domestic and personal service. This large class of laborers, who since the first appearance of the Negro in America have constituted an employment group second only to that of the agricultural workers, now numbers barely a million persons. In other words, about 300,000 Negro waiters, servants, laundresses, janitors, bootblacks, and other menials have gone either into other pursuits, have been withdrawn from gainful employment, or have been crowded out of such jobs since 1910.[1]

The largest losses among Negro domestic service workers have been experienced by servants, waiters, and laundresses. This decrease may be explained partly by the eager rush of Negroes from domestic service to the factory during the labor shortage incident to the World War. This was particularly evident in the North where the Negroes prior to 1914 had not only been largely excluded from industry, but were also being forced to relinquish their precarious hold upon domestic service.

Just at this time, however, came the speeding up of industry incident to the World War with its suspension of unlimited European immigration, as has been demonstrated above, producing a pronounced labor shortage in factories and transportation agencies. As a result opportunities far exceeding the most fervent hopes of Negro workers were offered them. Thousands of all sorts of persons supplied this demand. Negro men and women now eagerly forsook domestic service for work in iron and steel mills, meat slaughtering and packing plants, railroad lines, and other work. These Negroes desired to escape domestic and personal service with its poor pay, long hours and the social stigma thereto attached. The paramount inducement, however, was the higher wages paid for industrial labor which ranged all the way from $2.50 to $6.00 a day for unskilled workers for a ten hour shift. Time and a half was usually given for overtime.

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[1] According to the U. S. Census of 1910 the number of Negro workers in domestic and personal service was 1,357,598. By 1920 this number had decreased to 1,064,590, a loss of 293,008 or 21.5. The proportion which the Negro workers in domestic service constituted of all Negroes at work also fell from 26.1 in 1910 to 22.1 in 1920, a loss of 4 per cent.—*United States Census Reports.*

A writer in 1919 observed that although wages for domestics had increased from 67 to 100 per cent above the prewar level, it was impossible to keep a servant or laundress for any definite length of time so great was the lure of industry. According to the United States Department of Labor, "the great need for workers to replace men drafted for Army service brought women on to occupations not heretofore considered within the range of their possible activities. Negro women shared to some extent these new fields. In response to the industrial demand, large numbers dropped their accustomed task in the home and in domestic service to take up the newer, more attractive work of supplying the need of the fighting world for the products of industry."[2]

Another influence which made for a decline in the Negro service group was again the departure of women and children from such work since they could live on the higher wages earned by the men. When the Negro farm hand or unskilled laborer, who formerly earned 75 cents to $1.25 a day, found that he could earn from $2.50 to $3.75 a day,[3] and later $4 to $5 a day,[4] in the North, he began to withdraw

[2] U. S. Department of Labor, *The Negro at Work during the World War and Reconstruction*, p. 125.

[3] Scott, *Negro Migration during the War*, p. 17.

[4] These wages were paid in the brass and copper mills of Connecticut during 1920 and 1923.

TABLE 40.—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO WOMEN IN THE TOTAL NUMBER OF WOMEN EMPLOYED IN THE PRINCIPAL NON-AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS PURSUED BY NEGRO WOMEN IN 1920, WITH INCREASE OR DECREASE IN THE PERCENTAGE, 1910-1920.

Occupation	Women 16 years of age and over engaged in nonagricultural occupations				
	Total number, 1920	Negro Women			Increase or decrease in per cent of Negro Women
		Number, 1920	Per cent of total		
			1920	1910	
All nonagricultural occupations	7,306,844	941,172	12.9	15.3	—2.4
Servants	981,557	389,276	39.7	31.5	8.2
Laundresses (not in laundry)	383,622	281,761	73.4	69.4	4.0
Semiskilled operatives (manufacturing, n.o.s.) *	1,274,719	40,779	3.2	1.4	1.8
Laborers (manufacturing, n.o.s.) *	160,133	32,582	20.3	14.9	5.4
Teachers (school)	635,207	29,189	4.6	4.7	—0.1
Dressmakers and seamstresses	235,519	26,961	11.4	8.5	2.9
Laundry operatives	78,548	20,463	26.1	16.2	9.9
Midwives and nurses (not trained)	137,431	13,888	10.1	16.4	—6.3
Waitresses	114,718	13,836	12.1	8.5	3.6
Housekeepers and stewardesses	204,350	13,250	6.5	5.8	0.7
Barbers, hairdressers, and manicurists	33,091	12,631	38.2	17.1	21.1
Boarding and lodging house keepers	114,740	9,536	8.3	6.4	1.9
Charwomen and cleaners	24,744	7,075	28.6	25.9	2.7
Janitors	28,929	5,413	18.7	11.4	7.3
All other	2,899,536	44,532	1.5	1.5	....

* Not otherwise specified.

his children from employment and to send them to school. As a result, between 1910 and 1920 the number of Negro children in domestic service was reduced by more than one-half. The Negro mother, also, by the same token, was enabled more frequently to devote all her time to the care of her home.

Not only did the Negroes voluntarily relinquish positions as servants but there developed conditions which forced some of them out of these jobs. Among these changes, was the increasing construction of modern apartments and homes built with a view toward decreasing servant costs. Most of these homes and apartments have not only been made advantageous for light housekeeping but are so equipped with modern labor-saving devices that the housewife has been enabled to perform most of her own tasks herself. As a result many families have either reduced the number of their servants or are doing without them altogether. The latter is usually the case, especially where one servant was formerly engaged. Instead of being regularly employed by one family, therefore, the Negro domestic perforce has become a day worker hired by several families in the course of a week.[5] In other cases she has become a part-time worker. As a result, cities like New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia showed marked decreases in the number of Negro servants.[5a]

The lure of the city has attracted workers of both races, and the recent mechanization of the industrial world has thrown out of employment large numbers who must now earn a livelihood in lower pursuits. Since the Negro must look to employers of a different race, they are the first to go and the last to be taken on in the case of scarcity of work. Referring to this condition in Missouri in 1921 and 1927, a report of the Negro Industrial Commission of that State said that "the employment situation . . . has grown steadily worse in that colored women who have had practically no trouble in finding employment and who could find more work than they could do at high wages, now have to compete with white domestics—women who have been forced upon the labor market through the enforced idleness of the men, and as a result are crowding colored female help for domestic service places. The entry of these white women has had the natural result of supply and demand and wages are falling for this class of help as much as 30 and 40 per cent.''[6]

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[5] *Letter from Miss Helen E. Notis of the Department of Labor of Newark, New Jersey, to the Authors, July 17, 1929;* Haynes, Elizabeth Ross, "Negroes in Domestic Service" in the *Journal of Negro History,* VIII, Oct. 1923.

[5a] **See tables in Appendix.**

TABLE 41.—PREFERENCE FOR WHITE DOMESTIC WORKERS IN NEWARK, N. J., FOR MONTH OF JUNE, 1929

Week Ending	Registrations			Help Wanted	Referred	Placed		
	White	Colored	Total			White	Colored	Total
1	231	612	843	734	716	416	294	710
8	319	512	831	751	727	524	203	727
15	348	409	757	657	657	469	188	657
22	228	456	684	643	603	329	274	603
29	223	289	512	584	548	438	107	545

The preference for white servants in many families especially in the North has also caused a reduction in the ranks of Negro servants. This is not only the case at present but has always existed in the North. During the World War when the white servants went largely into industry and other better paying occupations, Negro servants were much in demand. The years of depression following the World War, however, seem to have left the Negro servants in virtually the same position in which they found themselves before the World War,[7] and this, too, despite the fact that immigration has been greatly reduced. The latter has been counterbalanced in part by the modern apartments and homes which, as aforesaid, have reduced the need of servants. According to a writer in the North, ''foreign whites are preferred to Negro domestics in first class hotels, restaurants, apartment houses and shops."[8] A Northern Bureau of Labor also states that "white women, foreign especially, are preferable to Negroes. Sometimes it is because they work cheaper, at other times it is because they are willing to sleep in."[9] Negroes, as a rule, are unwilling to do this.[10] Many married Negro domestics are obliged to attend to their children and homes at night.[11]

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[6] *Biennial Report of the Missouri Industrial Commission* (1921-1922), p. 68.
[7] *Statement of Miss Helen E. Notis, ut supra.*

The preference for white servants sometimes is due to the inefficiency of Negro domestic workers.[12] The old "mammy" class of servant has largely died off and their places are taken in many instances by younger workers who dislike domestic service, but enter it largely because they can secure nothing better. Some of these workers, moreover, came from the rural districts of the South to the central and Northern cities during the World War when their services were much in demand.[13] Having but little or no experience in such work, these untrained farm hands find it difficult to adjust themselves to the standards of the new service required of them.

Many of them are so untrained that it is impossible for them to keep their jobs. Where Negro servants are competent they frequently are unreliable, which often causes their replacement by white servants. Many times the employer never knows whether the servant will return after pay day or her afternoon or Sunday off.[14] Elizabeth

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[8] *Outlook*, Sept. 14, 1916.

[9] "For the past few years the demand for white domestics has been steadily increasing. The foreigners are very much in demand. They seemingly can give more time on a job than a Negro servant, especially if they have just come to America. In this case they are willing to work cheaply until they learn the American ways."—*Statement of Miss Helen E. Notis of the Municipal Department of Labor, Newark, N. J., July 17, 1929.*

[10] *Survey*, Sept. 27, 1919, p. 900.

[11] The testimony of employment agents relative to employers' most commonly registered objections to hiring married women for domestic service is that married women take away food for the support of their families; married women have so many responsibilities and problems in their own homes they oftener than not go out to work with a weary body and a disturbed mind; married women find it difficult to sleep on employer's premises.—Haynes, Elizabeth Ross, "Negroes in Domestic Service" in the *Journal of Negro History*, Oct. 1923, VIII, p. 391.

[12] *Scribner's Magazine*, March 1921, p. 336.

[13] *Monthly Labor Review*, March 1924, p. 61.

[14] *Journal of Negro History*, VII, p. 396.

Ross Haynes found that Negro servants habitually failed to report for duty on certain holidays. According to her, "Negro domestic workers proverbially take Christmas Day and the Fourth of July off, giving such various excuses as death in family, automobile accidents, and the like. Just after these two holidays large employment agencies are for the most part swamped with applicants."[15] One of the authors himself has known Negro domestics to leave their jobs on their Thursday afternoon off and nonchalantly take the week end, reporting for duty on Monday with some flimsy tale as an excuse. They have been so unfortunate in thinking that their employers have been thereby satisfied when they have merely kept silent until more efficient servants could be found for these places.

The untidiness of many Negro domestics, especially the newcomers from the South, also hampers them in securing positions. In some instances they apply for work at employment offices with hair uncombed, soiled clothing, run over heels, or tattered stockings. Some of them feel that they must arouse sympathy in order to secure a job. Others are simply untidy. In many cases these women when sent out by such agencies are promptly refused the work. Said an official in a large Northern municipal employment bureau, "Some Negro applicants for domestic service are so untidy that I hesitate to send them to prospective employers, knowing only too well that they will not be accepted. Instead, I take them aside, tell them to go home, wash their faces, comb their hair, mend their stockings and put on a plain clean dress, then come back. Many of them follow my advice and thus secure jobs."[16]

Illiteracy among Negro domestics also reduces their chances to secure desirable places. Many of the recent applicants for service positions are migrants from the South, who have undergone but very little training.[17] An investigator found that out of a total of 7,975 female applicants for domestic work in Washington, D. C., 4,430, or 55.5 per cent, had received school training in the sixth grade or below. In Indianapolis, out of 387 applicants for the same work 168, or 43.3 per cent, had not received education beyond the fifth grade. Naturally these persons have acquired but little knowledge of domestic science as it is taught in the schools. A goodly number of them, however, can neither read nor write and they experience great difficulty nowadays in retaining jobs. Especially is this true among cooks who find it difficult, if not impossible, to carry all the different modern salad and dessert combinations in their memory and cannot supplement their instructions by the use of literature on domestic science.[18]

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[15] In this Mrs. Haynes is supported by a statement made by Miss Helen E. Notis.

[16] Statement of Miss Helen E. Notis of the Newark Municipal Employment Bureau, July 17, 1929.

In so far as waiters, waitresses, bell boys and elevator operators are concerned, the Negroes in the North, after increasing their small numbers during the War, have practically relapsed to their pre-war status in these pursuits. During the stress of that emergency when whites relinquished such positions, Negro men and women were eagerly sought to fill their places. "In hotels," according to the United States Department of Labor, "many Negro women performed the duties of cooks, dishwashers, waitresses, maids, elevator operators, and even bell girls. . . ."

The close of the War, however, brought a different story. With the demobilization of millions of soldiers and the consequent industrial depression there set in a hard struggle for employment with several persons contesting for a single job.[19] As a result many of the Negroes were displaced. In New York City, in 1922, the Negro waiters, bell boys, and elevator operators were forced out of their positions in the best hotels and restaurants, and confined chiefly to second rate places of this sort and small apartment houses.[20] In Atlantic City, once the objective of hundreds of Negro waiters during the summer season, many of the best hotels replaced their Negro waiters with whites.[21] In Cleveland, according to the United States Department of Labor in 1924, "very few Negroes have gone into hotels, restaurants and the like, for the opportunities were very limited."[22] In Kansas City, Missouri, recently Negro waitresses were dismissed from a large drug store and replaced by white help. In the same city Negro bus boys were discharged and replaced by Filipinos.[23] In Jefferson City, Missouri, Negro hotel workers were replaced by white workers, and a similar displacement of Negro waiters, bell men, and other such servants took place in a large Chicago hostelry.[24]

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[17] Mrs. Elizabeth Ross Haynes, who was domestic service employment secretary of the United States Employment Service from Jan. 1920 to May 1922, and who had opportunities for observing these conditions, writes, "Those persons who could not read or write seemed to feel their illiteracy very keenly. Many of them offered excuses by saying that the 'white folks raised them'; or their parents died, and they had to help the other children; or they were 'sickly' and the like. Those who had never been to school but could read and write a little were listed as being in the first grade. One applicant said that she had never been through a grade but that she could read and write and go anywhere in the city she wished to go. Another one, an elderly woman, expressed her regrets because she had never had a chance to go to school, but she had learned to read and write so that she could sign her name instead of simply 'touching the pen' when she was transacting her business."—*Journal of Negro History*, VII, p. 402.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 411.

In the same city, according to a recent author, "six colored elevator operators were working in a Chicago office building. One Friday night at 6 o'clock they were handed their pay and told that they need not come back. One of these men had been employed at the same job twenty-six years. All six were given the finest recommendation but the next day when the building opened white operators were on the elevators."[25] This was duplicated in Washington in 1930.

Even the dining car waiters have begun to feel the encroachment of the whites upon their jobs. The Great Northern Railroad recently issued an order replacing all colored cooks, waiters, and pantrymen on their road by white employees. The reason advanced was that whites were "expert" on foods. This precedent was fraught with grave consequences, for if the innovation is successful the Negroes on the other transcontinental railroads may be similarly displaced.[26]

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[19] *Review of Reviews*, April 1919, p. 392; *Survey*, Dec. 18, 1920, p. 420; U. S. Dept. of Labor, Haynes, *op cit.*, p. 128; Women's Bureau, *Negro Women in Industry*, Chap. VI.

[20] *Survey*, July 1922, p. 145.

[21] A hotel in Atlantic City recently installed a corps of Negro waiters when the European waiters went on strike on the eve of the Easter Week.—*Opportunity*, May 1929, p. 144.

[22] *Monthly Labor Review*, July 1924, p. 43.

[23] *Afro-American*, June 1, 1929.

[24] *Opportunity*, July 1929.

[25] Nearing, Scott, *Black America*, p. 106.

This displacement has been obvious with regard to the best hotels even in the South. Thus in Washington, D. C., when the minimum wage law of $16.50 a week for women became effective practically all of the hotels and restaurants in the city immediately discharged Negro workers and took on white ones.[27] Not only did this work suddenly assume a new importance to white workers because of the increased wages, but the proprietors felt that $16.50 a week was too much to pay Negroes.[28] In Louisville, Kentucky, white waitresses were evident in the tea shops and French and German cooks were used in the large hotels with colored cooks in the small establishments.[29] According to Jerome Dowd, throughout the South "in high class hotels and restaurants where wages equal those of the factory, white waiters are displacing Negroes."[30] In Tampa, Florida, only recently Negro hotel workers were turned off and whites gladly accepted their positions[31] even though the wages ran as low as five dollars a week. In a certain Southern city, it was reported in 1927 that white schoolboys were taking the places of elevator girls.[32] In the same city white girls and men have virtually supplanted Negroes as waiters, and elevator operators in the best hotels.

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[26] *Afro-American*, June 1, 1929.

[27] *Journal of Negro History*, VII, p. 414.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 414.

[29] Ragland, John M., "Situation in Louisville," in *Opportunity*, Feb. 1926, p. 72.

[30] Dowd, *The Negro in American Life*, p. 93.

[31] *Washington Tribune*, Aug. 24, 1928.

[32] This situation, however, obtained largely in the industrial parts of the South.

Not only have inroads been made by the whites upon Negro workers in public places, but even in the homes white workers are competing with the Negroes as house servants and as mere laundresses.[33] In Washington, D. C., many of the best homes employ white maids, waitresses and nurses while the cook and other kitchen employees are Negroes. So general is the influx of whites into the best household jobs in the South that a woman who has worked in various capacities as a house servant in the South told the authors, "It is becoming very difficult now for a Negro to secure a job in some places." According to a former Negro servant of Charlotte, "Now no one ever sees Negro girls waiting tables. This work is done by whites except in the smaller places. Colored girls now work in the kitchen, make beds, scrub floors or hand out the food to the white waitresses."[34] In Miles Park, in the same city, where the wealthy white people live, many will not have Negro servants. Others have both, but the whites get the best positions. When employed together the whites usually wait table and are preferred as governesses, nurses and the like, while the Negroes do the drudgery.

This tendency was further corroborated by a recent study of domestic service workers in Baltimore. "Evidently," says the report, "the white women were more desirous than the Negro women of taking care of children, perhaps were more desired by employers for this occupation. White women naturally outranked the Negroes both in the opportunity and in the demand for the higher grades of domestic occupations, such as companion, governess, housekeeper, and invalid's nurse, which are usually considered to be on a higher social plane; 112 white women as compared with 3 Negro women were classified as such."[35] In other cases where it is found inadvisable to mix the help for fear of racial feeling, the Negro workers are discharged.[36]

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[33] Negro ministers and social welfare workers frequently complain of this tendency.

[34] Statement of Miss Price, former servant in Charlotte, N. C., now a resident in Washington, D. C.

[35] "Domestic Service Workers and their Employment Relations," *Bulletin of the Women's Bureau, No. 39*, 1924, p. 24.

The decrease of the number of Negro employees in these capacities may be accounted for largely by the same causes which have brought about the reduction in the house-servant class. One of the chief faults of these workers is their unreliability. They often absent themselves from work at any time to attend a dance, the races, or what not with the result that the management must always have a reserve force on hand to fill in for them. Such an unbusinesslike practice not only entails added expense on the proprietor but also serves to keep down the wages of the regular employees.[37]

It is also alleged that not only is there a tendency of the Negro servants to fail to report for duty after pay day, but when they do return they are often penniless, under the influence of intoxicants, and more or less intractable. Arguments frequently follow much to the annoyance of the management,[38] and such occurrences usually assume graver proportions because of the color of the participants. One of the results is that the Negro workers are suddenly superseded by whites.

A charge against Negro waiters especially is that they not only fail to render the degree of skillful service that the guests demand[39] but are often untidy. Discord between the Negro headwaiter and his subordinates likewise frequently handicaps Negro waiters. Especially is this the result where the former, chiefly because of his physical stature, has been placed over a group of more efficient and experienced waiters. The latter are usually reluctant to serve under such a person; and, hence, favoritism enters, then "downright soldiery on the job," with the result that the headwaiter is not only "jammed," but the management is besieged with complaints from the guests and the entire force is charged with "mopery."[40]

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[36] "More than one householder stated that her reason for dismissing Negro servants was that she was engaging white persons and could not employ the two together. The segregation of the white domestics as a class is even more marked than in many places and the social stigma more strongly felt by the white employees themselves. Consequently, the presence of the white and Negro elements in domestic service has a tendency to increase the labor turnover in such work."—*Ibid.*, Feb. 1926.

[37] New York *News*, Saturday, August 8, 1928.

[38] *Ibid.*, August 8, 1928.

[39] *Washington Tribune*, Friday, Aug. 4, 1928.

General lack of organization due chiefly to the individualism of the Negro workers in these cases renders the replacement of Negroes by whites comparatively easy.[41] Commenting upon the difference between the two groups of workers a Negro weekly says, "The waiterman presents a sorrowful front in that he has no organization. . . . The whites have a local. They are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. They have a strong political pull. The colored waiter generally relies upon the individual. He trusts nobody. If he can undermine one of his own he will do it in order to keep in with the boss, only to be 'fired' for 'meddling.' "[42]

The remaining male Negro waiters, moreover, are still being rapidly replaced by women and girls of the race. The so-called weaker sex can perform this work as satisfactorily as the male and for less money. Any one who has observed the restaurants and lunch rooms of Harlem owned by whites, but largely patronized by Negroes, will find this to be only too evident. The same applies to Chicago. The Negro waiters usually average between $8.00 to $10.00 a week. The object is to cut down the pay of Negro waiters to the level of that of waitresses, although in some places both black and white waiters have suffered reduction of 20 per cent in their pay. The replacement of Negro men by waitresses in many instances, however, means the entire dismissal of Negro help, for ultimately the latter are often "supplanted by whites."[43]

The chief cause for the decrease of the Negro household servants in the South, however, may be traced to the migration of many of the best servants to the North or their employment in industries. Their places had to be taken by raw recruits from rural districts. As a result many of the Southern servants are inexperienced and, hence, inefficient.[44] A recent author notes the change in the Southern Negro servant but feels that such a phenomenon but expresses the general movement toward better paying jobs which is common to both races. He says, "The Negro servant problem in the South is the same as the white servant problem in the North and West. The more ambitious and more intelligent men and women of both races can always find better opportunities in other fields. Hence, the servant problem is becoming acute all over the country. Not only is the supply of servants becoming less proportionately every year, but a lower type of men and women every year occupies the ranks of domestic service. The scarcity of servants is such that the feeble-minded, the morons, and the untrained can find ready employment. The inferiority of Negro servants in the South now, as compared to two or three decades ago is a matter of universal observation."[45]

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[40] *Washington Tribune*, Friday, August 4, 1928.

[41] There are, however, unions composed of Negro waiters and waitresses. *Negro in Chicago*, p. 367; *The Negro Population of Denver, Colorado*, p. 18.

[42] The New York *News*, Saturday, July 21, 1928.

[43] *Ibid.*, July 21, 1928.

In the same way Negro janitors in a large measure have been forced to give up the gains which they made during the World War. To a great extent they have been replaced by white men in the North and West.[46] The Negro Industrial Commission of Missouri said in its report, "A deplorable result is noticeable in that the Negro janitor and porter are suffering to some extent. It is becoming evident that there is a disposition in many quarters to displace them with white help. He who is the least able in opportunity is being placed at a still larger disadvantage because of the accident of color and because the depression abroad in the labor market operates to make white men give first aid to those of their own color."[47] When not so displaced they are being increasingly confined to the more undesirable jobs, paying less money. In some cases virtually the only entrée which the Negro janitor possesses for such a job is his willingness to do extra work without corresponding pay, a thing which no white janitor would have to do.[48]

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[44] "Practically without exception they began well. They showed interest and enthusiasm in their work at first, but invariably this good beginning came quickly to a poor end. She was very much discouraged by the fact that these Negro servants would not remain with her. She believes this instability of nature is a general characteristic of Negro women who are house servants. She could see no improvement in these servants while they were with her, but they actually became less efficient, more careless, and indifferent. Very soon they would say that they were tired of the work and that they were compelled to have a rest. This was true of practically every one, the sorry ones and the better ones alike. Whenever they remained with her a fairly good length of time, they showed a tendency at intervals to neglect their work. These "slumps," as the housekeeper called them, the servants would fall into occasionally, and their work during these periods was too poor and unsatisfactory for any one to bear. The only way this housewife has been able to retain a cook lately has been to increase the wages to a little above what is ordinarily being paid for the class of service. She now pays her cook about $5.25 a week."—Long, *Clark County Negroes during the Great War*, p. 40.

[45] Dowd, Jerome, *The Negro in American Life*, p. 92.

This survey discovered Negro janitors of white apartment houses in New York, who were on duty from 5 o'clock in the morning until 10:30 or 11 o'clock at night and who also performed such additional duties as superintendent, elevator relief, and mechanic. These janitors received from $40 to $60 a month with two or three basement rooms for living quarters. Window cleaning and the performance of various odd jobs for the guests enabled them barely to exist.[49] In this way only can they displace white janitors or compete with them.

Where janitors' unions exist, as in Chicago, the Negroes are often squeezed out of the best jobs by the white members who seek to place their own fellows in the most desirable positions.[50] Employers, moreover, refuse to pay the same wages to Negro janitors as to whites even when both are members of the same union. According to the members of the Flat Janitors' Union, whenever a Negro is taken into the union and demands the union scale, the owner calls up the union and says, "If I have to pay these wages I'm going to get a good white man." [51]

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[46] These are matters of common report, and friends of the Negro frequently express alarm on this account.

[47] *Biennial Report of the Negro Industrial Commission of Missouri* (1921-1922), p. 69; *Opportunity*, May 1929, p. 143.

[48] *Industrial Conditions of the Negro in St. Louis*, p. 31.

[49] Janitors in Chicago affiliated with the Flat Janitors union receive as high as $125 a month with quarters. Report of *Chicago Race Commission*, p. 370.

[50] "Inquiry among Negro janitors in the residence districts brought up a case in which one Negro claimed that Negroes were forced into the union and then usually found themselves discriminated against by the white members, especially by Belgians, and soon or later, were squeezed out of the good

Others in this class have not fared better. Negro sextons, due largely to the multiplication of Negro churches especially in the North, have increased their numbers since 1910.[52] Negro butlers are rapidly approaching zero point. Wherever they exist, they are usually men of all jobs such as chauffeur-butlers or butler-gardeners. Japanese, Filipino, and English butlers are largely preferred throughout the North and West. In addition, the demand for butlers has diminished since the War, mainly as a result of the extensive construction of apartment houses.[53]

A large decrease has also taken place among the Negro laundresses since 1910. Although these Negro employees constitute about three-quarters of all such workers, and play an important and oftentimes vital rôle in the economy of the Negro family, they have suffered a loss of almost one-fifth of their numbers since 1910.[54] The causes for this decrease [54a]

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jobs. However, this Negro admitted that he had not attended a union meeting since his initiation, except to stop in to pay his dues, and that he had never made a complaint to the Negro officer of the union. The officers of the union admitted that there was, in the many racial groups in this craft, strong race feeling, especially among Austrians and Belgians, who seemed to feel that whenever a janitor died or left the job, or an assistant or helper was needed, such jobs should always be filled with members of their own nationality. However, the Negro officials claimed that with three Negroes on the Executive Board and a Negro vice-president, any complaint coming from a Negro would surely be fairly dealt with; but that unless their attention was called to unsatisfactory conditions the union could not be expected to know of them, and in such cases it was not the union that was to blame, but the member himself."—"The Chicago Commission on Race Relation," *The Negro in Chicago*, p. 416.

[51] *Ibid.*, p. 415.

[52] A survey of Negro churches in Harlem (New York City) alone in 1926, by Ira DeA. Reid, of the New York Urban League found that 126 Negro churches had been added to the number in that community since 1911.—*Opportunity*, September 1926, p. 274.

[53] *Baltimore Afro-American*, Jan. 4, 1930.

[54] *Journal of Negro History*, VII, p. 414.

[54a] In 1910 there were 382,510 Negro launderers and laundresses; by 1920 this number had shrunk to 314,342, a decline of 68,158, or 17.8 per cent.—U. S. Census Reports.

may be ascribed partly to their going into other occupations.[55] On the other hand, it reflects the withdrawal of some of these persons from productive employment due to the increasing ability of the Negro man to support his wife and family.[56]

The greatest single factor working for the diminution in the ranks of the Negro washerwomen since 1910, however, has been the rise of the steam laundry.[57] The washerwomen numbered 283,557 in 1920, but they are rapidly losing ground.[58] Negro workers in steam laundries in the mean-

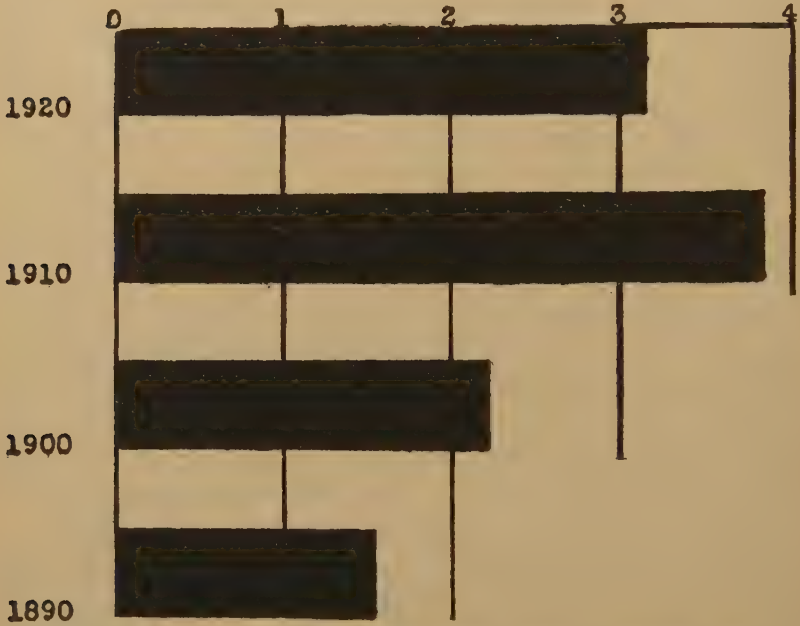

DIAGRAM 14.—COMPARATIVE NUMBERS OF NEGRO LAUNDERERS AND LAUNDRESSES, BY HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS, 1890 TO 1920.

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[55] U. S. Dept. of Labor, Women's Bureau, *Negro Women in Industry, passim; Monthly Labor Review*, Aug. 1924, p. 126.

[56] *Opportunity*, Jan. 1926, p. 8; Woofter, T. J., Jr., *Negro Problems in Cities*, New York, 1928, Chapter IX.

[57] *Journal of Negro History*, XV, pp. 269-273.

[58] Census Monographs, No. IX, p. 118; Compare United States Bureau of the Census, *Report on Occupations*, 1920.

TABLE 42.—INCREASE OR DECREASE, 1910-1920, IN THE NUMBER OF NEGRO WOMEN EMPLOYED AS SERVANTS, AS LAUNDRESSES, AND IN ALL OTHER NON-AGRICULTURAL PURSUITS, BY GEOGRAPHIC SECTIONS

Geographic Section and Class of Occupation	Negro Women 16 Years of Age and Over Engaged in Nonagricultural Pursuits			
	1920	1910	Increase: 1910-1920	
			Number	Per Cent
United States	941,172	926,559	14,613	1.6
Servants	389,276	388,659	617	0.2
Laundresses	281,761	356,275	—74,514	—20.9
All other nonagricultural pursuits	270,135	181,625	88,510	48.7
The North	241,871	189,854	52,017	27.4
Servants	108,342	92,318	16,024	17.4
Laundresses	46,914	53,747	— 6,833	—12.7
All other nonagricultural pursuits	86,615	43,789	42,826	97.8
The South	688,063	728,309	—40,246	— 5.5
Servants	275,223	292,453	—17,230	— 5.9
Laundresses	233,205	300,734	—67,529	—22.5
All other nonagricultural pursuits	179,635	135,122	44,513	32,9
The West	11,238	8,396	2,842	33.8
Servants	5,711	3,888	1,823	46.9
Laundresses	1,642	1,794	— 152	— 8.5
All other nonagricultural pursuits	3,885	2,714	1,171	43.1

time have almost doubled since 1910.[59] These workers include over one-fifth of the entire force of laborers in steam laundries.[60] Throughout the North and West Negro men and women especially are freely employed in laundries. This was not only due to the need of laborers during the World War, but the opportunity was welcomed by the Negro women as an escape from the back-breaking drudgery of washing and ironing in the home with its constant exposure. Thus in many cases it was merely a transfer of their occupation from the home to the laundry where with little or no

[59] In 1910 there were 15,359 Negro workers in laundries; by 1920 this number had grown to 25,332, an increase of about ten thousand.—United States Census Report on Occupations, 1920.

[60] There were 120,715 such workers of all classes in 1920.—U. S. Census Report on Occupations, 1920.

opposition they were soon advanced to the skilled processes.[61]

After the World War some laundries discharged their Negro employees or reduced them to the unskilled tasks at lower wages. Yet a large number have been retained. A survey by the Women's Bureau in 1924 revealed 358 Negroes working in a large chain of laundries in Missouri.[62] Seventy-two were likewise employed in laundries visited in Ohio. In Derby, Connecticut, a large laundry not only hired Negro girls at mangling and hand ironing, but even boasts of a Negro bookkeeper.[63] A considerable number of Negroes were hand workers in Chicago steam laundries at wages ranging from $13.00 to $29.00 a week.[64] In Buffalo a recent study reported thirty-five women employed as hand ironers and in other capacities.[65] Several investigators have also observed the large increases among Negro laundry workers in New York City and cities in Pennsylvania. Even in such Far Western centers as Denver[66] and Los Angeles[67] Negroes are to a greater extent employed in this capacity.

The willingness of Negro girls and women to work for smaller wages than the whites explains in a large measure their increase in this field. This is borne out by surveys of women in industries conducted by the Women's Bureau in fifteen States up to 1928. In many cases it was found that there existed discrimination in wages. The case of Missouri is typical. There it was found that the medium weekly earnings of the Negroes was $9.80 while that of the whites was $12.45, or $2.65 more.[68]

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[61] "Power-laundry work has provided the opportunity for many Negro girls and women to earn a livelihood. In considerable numbers they have followed into the factory their former occupation of laundering clothing. Under good factory conditions this permits of escape from the more undesirable conditions of the household laundry service. Because of the difficulties and dangers of the work, and because of the traditional linking of Negro women to such tasks, there has been in most places little objection to them or color discrimination against them in laundries. They have learned, consequently, to operate all kinds of power laundry machinery, to wash, iron, steam or dry clean garments of all sorts, as well as to do the hand finishing that is in considerable demand."—United States Department of Labor, *Negro at Work during the War and Reconstruction*, p. 127.

[62] United States Department of Labor, *Women in Missouri Industries, Bulletin of the Women's Bureau, No. 35*, p. 39.

[63] Statement of the bookkeeper.

[64] Report of Chicago Race Commission, *The Negro in Chicago*, p. 367.

[65] Carpenter, Niles, *Nationality, Color and Economic Opportunity in the City of Buffalo*, 1927, p. 165.

[66] Reid, *The Negro Population of Denver, Colo.* (published by the National Urban League, 1929), p. 12.

[67] The employment of Mexican labor in those parts, however, makes their tenure precarious.—*Opportunity*, Oct. 1927, p. 298.

Laundries also frequently exploit the economic helplessness of the Negro worker when taking on help not only by reducing the wages but by increasing the working hours. According to an investigator in New York City, as public laundries move northward into Harlem there is an increasing demand for colored workers. "A large laundry recently moved into North Harlem and replaced its white help with colored. Wages were reduced $3.00 on the week, and the Saturday half holiday given to white workers substituted by a mid-day lunch and four hours extra work."[69]

The Negro laundresses in the South have not suffered so far to the extent of the Negro waiters, elevator operators, bell men, and such servants in that section. A goodly number of these Negro laundresses now work in steam laundries which, as in the North, tends to reduce the number of Negro women doing washing and ironing in homes.[70] In some States most of the workers in steam laundries are Negro women. In Alabama, according to a summary made in 1924 by the Women's Bureau, Negro women comprised about seven-eighths, 85.1 per cent, of the women workers in laundries.[71] In South Carolina they constituted 27 per cent of such workers.[72] They also represented a goodly percentage of the workers in Georgia,[73] Oklahoma,[74] Tennessee,[75] and Mississippi.[76]

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[68] U. S. Dept. of Labor, Women's Bureau, "Women in Missouri Industries," *Bulletin No. 35*, 1924, p. 39.

[69] *Opportunity*, February 1926, p. 69.

[70] Statement of Miss Price, a domestic servant interviewed.

[71] U. S. Dept. of Labor, Women's Bureau, *Women in Alabama Industries*, Jan. 1922, p. 52.

[72] "Women in South Carolina Industries," *Women's Bureau Bulletin No. 32*, 1923, p. 84.

[73] *Ibid., Bulletin No. 22*, p. 31.

[74] *Ibid., Bulletin, No. 48*, 1926, p. 62.

[75] *Ibid., Bulletin No. 56*, 1927, p. 42.

[76] *Ibid., Bulletin No. 57*, p. 55.

Domestic service in the developing of the new South, too, offers a different story in recent years. While the Negro in the North has always found severe competition from the whites in domestic service, in the South the converse has been generally true. In this section before the World War the Negro virtually monopolized the field. So long had this work been associated with Negroes that a sort of tradition had linked these employments with them in the South. And in the face of this attitude to offer a white man a job as servant, waiter, or bootblack would have been tantamount to a gross insult.[77] But this condition no longer obtains. The Negro has lost his monopoly. During the hard times after the World War white women even invaded Negro sections of Southern towns, seeking work as washerwomen. Since that conflict both whites and blacks, forced by crop reverses and the unsettled state of agriculture or lured by possibilities of industrial employment, have flocked to the towns. Along with this urban movement coincided the industrial and business depression of recent years. Consequently when there ensued a hard struggle for jobs the whites stifled their repugnance to menial employment and began to compete vigorously for "Negro jobs," such as servants, cooks, barbers, waiters, bell men, elevator boys, bootblacks,[78] and the like.

This tendency toward displacement is especially noticeable among Negro barbers. Once dominating this trade in the South, they have seen their hold upon the barbering business gradually lessening, until to-day they are being restricted largely to work among their own people. Realizing the lucrative returns from the barbering trade which long had been pouring into the black man's coffers, the whites not only have succeeded by fair competition in securing most of this trade, but have even attempted by legislation to make it unlawful in some cities for Negro barbers to serve white people.[79] The women's bobbed hair craze which swept the country after the World War influenced this action. Although the courts declared such laws unconstitutional,[80] they are, nevertheless, indicative of a growing tendency among the whites to expel the Negro from any profitable employment. Such attempts also manifest the ease with which the Negroes may be displaced in any pursuit which the whites desire. Thus although Negro barbers, hairdressers, and the like, have increased by almost 40 per cent since 1910, this growth has largely been the result of increasing Negro patronage; for those catering to white trade are rapidly becoming negligible.[81]

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[77] There was a time when the meanest white man would not stoop to do rough menial labor. Such jobs as street cleaners, scavengers, porters, janitors, bootblacks, etc., were Negro jobs and to offer such a job to a white man was to offer him a gratuitous insult. Now in the cities of the South white men are not only doing these despised tasks, but they are actually forcing the Negro out of these fields by the very fierceness of their competition aided by a certain amount of persistent coercion.

[78] Hill, T. Arnold, "The Present Status of Negro Labor" in *Opportunity*, 1929, p. 143.

In spite of their evident decreases in the domestic service, however, Negro workers still find this field their second best means of employment. Over a million Negroes in this country still earn their livelihood as servants, charwomen, laundresses, waiters, maids, and butlers. In many Northern States domestic service still remains the principal occupation for Negroes. How important this work is to the Negroes is shown by the fact that with the exception of Pennsylvania and the North Atlantic States the census reports show a greater percentage of Negroes in domestic service than in any other pursuit.[82] And were this occupation to be suddenly denied them over one-half the families in the North would suffer disastrous privation. The same condition obtains in the Far West and in the North Central States. With the exception of Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, and

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[79] *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Nov. 1928, p. 147.

[80] "It is an interesting commentary on the question that only recently an effort was made by one of the largest cities of the South to forbid Negroes from serving white patrons."—Moton, *What the Negro Thinks*, p. 199.

[81] Barbers and hairdressers, manicurists, etc., increased from 22,534 in 1910 to 31,352 in 1920, an increase of 8,818 or 39.1 per cent.—*U. S. Census Reports on Occupations*.

[82] *Negro Survey in Pennsylvania*, 1927, p. 15. See Map 5, and tables in the Appendix.

Wisconsin, the majority of Negro workers in those parts are still dependent upon domestic service. In the South, of course, agriculture offers the largest field for Negro employment. In view of the competition which the Negro meets in all but the lowest forms of industrial labor, the progressive mechanization of industry which more and more tends to thrust men out of unskilled labor, it seems probable that, for some time to come, Negroes will derive a goodly share of their income from domestic and personal service.

CHAPTER XIII

IN METAL AND COAL INDUSTRIES IN LARGER NUMBERS

In striking contrast to the desertion of the Negro workers from the ranks of field laborers and domestic and personal servants a remarkable advance has been made by the factory and other mechanical workers. In fact the "breaking" of a large number of Negroes into the industries of the United States stands out as one of the most remarkable developments in labor during the last fifteen years. These workers secured in a few years a foothold for which the race had struggled more than a century. Its significance is readily attested by the fact that during this period the Negro industrial workers have risen from about five hundred thousand to approximately a million.[1]

The increase of the Negroes in industry since 1914 was not due to a voluntary opening of the factory doors to the Negroes by the employers. Neither was it the reflection of the willingness of the white laborers to welcome the Negroes as co-workers. On the contrary, the increase in the number of Negro industrial workers during this period was the outgrowth of sheer necessity for additional workers, as already mentioned above. This was due to the speeding up of industry in the North and Middle West incident to the World War and the creation of new manufactories,[2] while at the same time immigration into the United States was checked by war and legislation. These foreigners had constituted the horde of unskilled laborers in Northern factories, had effectually crowded the Negroes out of Northern industry, and had retarded their progress in the South.[3] With the influx of foreigners virtually stopped, and with additional millions of workers withdrawn for military or naval service after 1917 the only available labor supply could be obtained from the ranks of Negroes. And to the black worker, for the first time, captains of industry eagerly turned.

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[1] In 1910 only 552,815 or about one-tenth of all the Negroes at work were engaged in industrial pursuits. By 1920, this number had almost doubled, 960,039 being employed in various factories or in other mechanical pursuits. Thus during a span of a few years 407,224 workers were added to the ranks of the Negro industrial workers, which represented a gain of 73.6 per cent. Incidentally, also, the proportion of Negroes engaged in manufacturing virtually doubled during this period, advancing from 10.6 per cent in 1910 to 19.9 per cent in 1920.—U. S. Census, *Negro Population in the U. S.*, p. 526; Fourteenth Census of the U. S., 1920, *Occupations*, Vol. IV, pp. 340-341.

[2] See various studies of the migration of 1916-1918, already cited above.

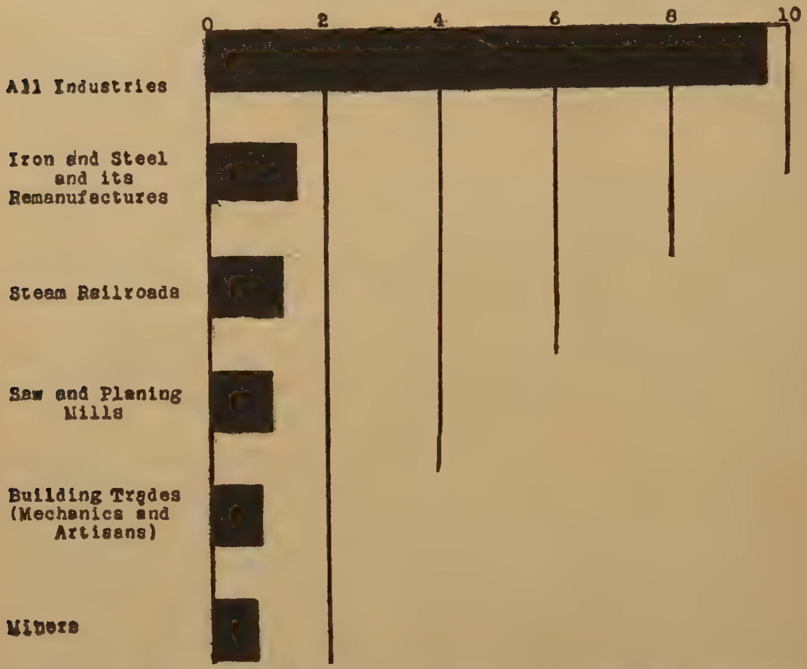

DIAGRAM 15.—INDUSTRIES EMPLOYING LARGEST NUMBERS OF NEGROES IN 1920, BY HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF WORKERS [3a]

Again it was the lure of higher wages offered by the manufacturers of that section. Although wages were ultimately increased in order to hold Negro laborers in the

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[3] Scott, *Negro Migration during the War*, pp. 51-52.

[3a] Also includes Negroes in automobile factories, car and railroad shops, shipbuilding plants and wagon and carriage factories.

South they still lagged far behind the pay offered in the North and West. In many cases the wages of farm hands were multiplied from three to sixfold and wages of urban workers greatly increased. For instance, in 1918 when Negroes in iron foundries of Alabama and Tennessee received $2.50 for a ten-hour day the same workers were paid from $3.50 to $4.00 or $4.50 in iron foundries in Illinois; from $3.50 to $4.00 a day in Ohio; and from $3.00 to $6.00 in Pennsylvania iron and steel plants. As early as 1917 Negro laborers in the Pittsburgh iron and steel factories were receiving from $2.00 to $3.60 and more for a day's work of 10 hours.[4] The highest wages, however, were reported from Detroit where labor was greatly in demand. In 1923, 13,000 Negro workers in various manufactories there received wages ranging from $3.00 to $10.00 a day.[5]

In the iron and steel industries, therefore, the Negroes made their largest gains. Among the first to feel the need for laborers, steel factories sent agents to recruit Negro workers in the South not only during the Great War,[6] but also during the recrudescence of business in 1923.[7] As a result thousands of Negroes were drawn into these factories, and the number of Negroes, negligible in such plants in 1910, increased unexpectedly in some instances from 30 to 150 per cent.[8]

The situation in the Pittsburgh district is typical. With scarcely a hundred Negroes employed in the plants in 1910,[9] by 1915 the number had risen to 2,550, equally distributed among eleven plants. A year later seventeen factories were employing 8,325.[10] In 1923, which saw the peak of Negro employment in the iron and steel industry of the Pittsburgh district 16,000 Negro workers were employed. In this year, according to an investigator, the Negroes constituted 21 per cent of the entire working force in twenty-three mills of the Pittsburgh district.[11] In December, 1925, a check-up showed that nine of the largest mills of the same district, whose output equaled 82 per cent of that area, employed 22 per cent Negroes of their entire working force of 29,560.[12] Another survey made under the direction of the Department of Welfare of Pennsylvania in July, 1925, showed that the largest number of Negroes in manufacturing were in the iron and steel industry, which employed 14,148.[13] Even this latter figure represented an increase of several times the number employed in iron foundries in the State before the World War. The Chamber of Commerce of Youngstown, geographically a part of the Pittsburgh district, estimated the number of Negroes in its mills in 1930 at 4,000 or 5,000.

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[4] Epstein, *The Negro Migrant in Pittsburgh*, p. 23; and Haynes, *Negro at Work*, etc., p. 33.

[5] *Southern Workman*, Nov. 1923, p. 540.

[6] *Survey*, Dec. 18, 1920, p. 420.

[7] *Literary Digest*, May 19, 1923; *Nation*, May 9, 1923, pp. 539-541; *New Republic*, July 18, 1923, pp. 200-201.

[8] Sewall, John L., "The Industrial Revolution and the Negro" in *Scribner's Magazine*, March 1921, p. 338.

[9] Epstein, *Negro Migrant in Pittsburgh*, pp. 7, 31.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

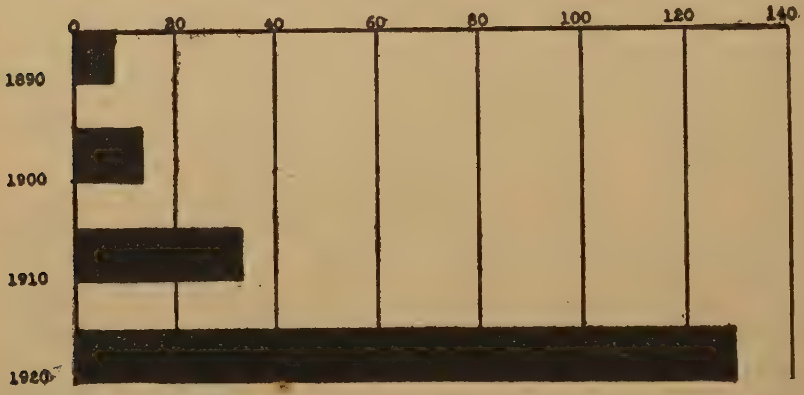

DIAGRAM 16.—INCREASE OF NEGRO WORKERS IN IRON AND STEEL FACTORIES, BY THOUSANDS, FROM 1890 TO 1920.

In some plants the Negroes employed have increased far beyond the most liberal estimates. For instance, the Carnegie Steel Company which hired few Negroes in 1910 and only 1,500 in 1916 almost trebled its working force of Negroes between 1916 and 1917 when 4,000 were employed; the Jones and Laughlin Company with 400 Negroes in 1916 had 1,500 on its payroll in 1917; and the Crucible Steel Company with 150 Negroes in 1916 had 400 the following year. Some plants, which had no Negroes in 1916, due to the acute labor shortage employed Negroes ranging in numbers from 50 to 200 in 1917.[14] Although many of these Negroes were dismissed during the business depression which afflicted the country between 1920 and 1922, comparatively speaking, the Negroes have held most of their gains in the steel mills of the section. In some factories, as in Pittsburgh, they are even being employed in greater numbers now than during the War when the industry was at its highest level.[15] A large steel and iron company which employed "only 25 Negroes at the peak of war production" had 300 on its payroll in 1926; another which once had 200 had 260 that year; a tube company which formerly hired 100, "250 in War time," then employed 306; and a pressed steel car company which had never listed more than 25 Negro employees either before or during the War period worked at that time 632.[16]

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[11] Clark, John T., "Negroes in Steel" in *Opportunity,* March 1926, pp. 87, 88.

[12] *Ibid.,* p. 77.

[13] Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Department of Welfare, *Negro Survey of Pennsylvania,* Harrisburg, 1927, p. 20.

This expansion of industry affected a large area. There were no iron or steel mills of consequence which, at that time and some years thereafter, did not receive sufficient orders to keep them busy; and consequently there were no such plants which did not have to seek additional labor to participate in the nation-wide effort to supply the world with these finished metal products. In other large iron and steel centers, then, the number of Negro employees also increased in response to the unusual demand.[17] For example, according to a statement made by William V. Kelley in 1926 in St. Louis 3,335 Negroes were employed in 22 plants, 1,032 of whom were skilled laborers.[18] The case of Cleveland may be considered as typical. Negroes had long since gone there in small numbers as to a haven of rest but had not entered these spheres.[19] In twelve of its plants with only a few Negroes working in iron and steel in 1910, however, Negro laborers comprised from 10 to 60 per cent of the personnel in 1924.[19a]

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[14] Epstein, *Negro Migrant in Pennsylvania,* p. 31.

[15] *Negro Survey in Pennsylvania,* p. 17.

[16] *Ibid.,* p. 17.

[17] *Ibid.,* p. 17.

The main factor in the increase of the Negroes in the iron and steel industry has been the general absence of the tendency among Negro workers to unite for collective bargaining.[20] The steel industry, moreover, had been traditionally an open shop institution largely on account of the polyglot of ignorant and intensely nationalistic workers. These in the main were Serbs, Hungarians, Poles, Irish, and Russians, who formerly performed the unskilled labor in these plants, and whose racial animosities prevented any common basis for organization against their employers. Because the Negroes were newcomers to industry and because of the marginal utility of their labor, they were, of necessity, so bound to the interests of their employers that little fear of their striking was entertained by factory owners. As a result the labor action of Negroes tends to be individualistic rather than coöperative.[21] This was well summed up by a writer in 1924 who said that "the Negro has certain advantages over the foreign immigrant. He knows English and almost always he is decidedly reluctant to strike."[22]

Whereas the Negro had found one of his chief means of entering industry through the medium of strikebreaker before the Great War, such procedure played little part in his rise in the iron and steel industry. The notable exception since that conflict was the prolonged steel strike of 1919-1920, which was broken by Negroes and by which means a number of the race secured places in the industry.[23] The Negroes once more had jobs, and the foreigners had more race prejudice. The Negroes had won, and they had lost.

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[18] Kelley, William V., "St. Louis Negroes in Industry" in *Opportunity*, Feb. 1926, p. 70.

[19] The details of these developments are given in works on the migration written by Woodson, Scott, Haynes and Donald as already cited above.

[19a] United States Department of Labor, *Monthly Labor Review*, July 1924, p. 43.

[20] Epstein, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

[21] *Negro Survey in Pennsylvania*, Department of Welfare, p. 22.

[22] Hartt in *World's Work*, June 1924, p. 186.

Many plants have fortified themselves against strikes by so intermixing Negro workers among their white laborers as to render almost impossible any such thing as concerted action. The case of St. Louis is typical. "Every large foundry in St. Louis," says an investigator, "employs enough Negroes to offset the likelihood of a damaging strike. The average forces of such plants usually run about ¾ white and ¼ colored or ⅔ white and ⅓ colored."[24] Although this method insures the Negro a job it also operates to return him a smaller wage scale, which would not be if the Negroes were organized by the whites and given equal privileges and opportunities for employment as other workers. Since this is not so the Negro is still held as an unwilling club over the white worker, thereby reducing the wage scale for both.

Mainly as a result of these influences the number of Negroes engaged in iron and steel mills greatly increased after 1910. It is difficult to ascertain the exact number. Estimates vary. According to T. J. Woofter, 140,000 Negroes have been industrially employed since 1916.[25] The same authority contended in 1920 that of a total of 135,000 connected with the iron and steel industry and its remanufactures, 40,000 were connected with iron and steel, 25,000 in automobile factories, 15,000 in meat packing plants, 15,000 in Pullman yards and shops, and 40,000 others in miscellaneous industries.[26] This estimate is somewhat conservative, for the total given by the United States Census for the same year places the number at 150,669 with 42,445 in iron and steel mills alone.[27] At any rate over a hundred thousand more Negroes since then have been connected with iron and steel and its various remanufactures.

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[23] Foster, *The Steel Strike.*

[24] *Opportunity,* Feb. 1926, p. 70.

[25] Woofter, T. J., "The Negro and Industrial Peace" in the *Survey*, December 18, 1920, p. 420.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 420.

In contrast to the larger number of Negroes employed in the iron and steel plants only a few of them have gone into other metal industries. In brass and copper works the number of Negroes employed have more than quadrupled since 1910, but they are still just a little more than a thousand. Yet it denotes an upward trend in an occupation in which Negroes had played little part. The increase was directly traceable to causes already given. Several hundred Negroes found employment in the large brass and copper factories and mills of the Naugatuck Valley of Connecticut, embracing such towns as Waterbury, Naugatuck, Union City, and Seymour.[28] Negroes found such openings also in the plants at Tarrytown and Buffalo, New York.[29] The American Brass Company, operating in Torrington, Waterbury, Ansonia, Connecticut, in Buffalo, New York, in Detroit, Michigan, and in Kenosha, Wisconsin, employed 70 Negro skilled workers and 774 such unskilled laborers in 1930. Wages ranged from forty-two and a half cents upward an hour.[30] The chief reason for the small number of Negroes in brass factories lies in the fact that there is very little work which the unskilled Negro can do, the task being mostly semi-skilled or skilled labor. Until recently, moreover, few Negroes have lived in the vicinity of such factories.

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[27] In 1910 the total number of Negroes in the iron and steel industry including car and railroad shops, automobile factories, shipbuilding yards, etc., was 47,691. By 1920 the number had increased to 105,641, an increase which surprised the country.

[28] From one of the writer's own experience and observations, he having worked in one of the largest brass and copper factories during 1918-1919 and during the summers of 1920-1924, many Southern Negroes learned quickly to run the intricate 9 die machines used for drawing wire, others spooled wire, still others worked at the furnaces or on the rolls. They were generally considered more desirable than the foreign element.

[29] Carpenter, Niles, *Nationality, Color and Economic Opportunity in the City of Buffalo*, published by the University of Buffalo in coöperation with the *Inquiry* (1927), pp. 104, 105.

[30] Based on the experience of one of the authors.

Virtually the same condition applies to Negro workers in tin plate factories. Although the number is still small, an advance wholly ascribable to World War conditions is, nevertheless, apparent. In Pennsylvania, it was reported that a goodly number of Negroes were at work in the tin mills and factories in Farrell, Sharon, and other towns, where they were said to be earning considerable money in 1926.[31] There are about 900 tinsmiths, but it is doubtful whether any of these are employed at their trade in factories because of the traditional policy of the Tinplate Workers' Union to refuse to allow a Negro to learn the trade.[32] Lead workers among Negroes, though few, secure their jobs largely for the reason that the work is laborious and exceedingly dangerous, resulting often in lead poisoning.

In the jewelry industry the Negroes do not show much sign of progress. Although a few Negroes were taken into jewelry and watch factories during the War, the number is still negligible on account of its highly skilled character. With the present restrictions of apprenticeship the situation does not seem at all encouraging.

A somewhat larger increase, however, is noted by the Negro workers in electrical manufacturing companies. Prior to the migration Negroes were practically excluded from electrical plants except in the capacity of menials. The general refusal to hire Negroes in plants where electrical appliances were produced was doubtless based upon the fact that opportunities for unskilled labor, such as the Negro had to offer, were fewer than in iron and steel mills. The labor shortage during the War, however, caused even these plants to welcome Negro labor of any sort. Prominent among these was the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company which employed only 25 Negroes prior to 1916. Two years later, 900 Negroes drew weekly wages from this company.[33] That these men were efficient is attested by the fact that this company had 514 Negroes on its payroll after the abnormal war production had passed and was still advertising for Negroes in 1923.[34] Negroes in this company as late as 1926 were reported in both unskilled and skilled positions such as "janitors, elevator operators, waiters, shop truck operators, material handlers, punch press and shear furnaces, dipping and baking, drill press operators and machine molding."[35] One of the chief obstacles, however, which still retards the advance of the Negroes in electrical plants, according to a recent survey, is their "lack of educational preparation." Notwithstanding this impediment the way has been opened for a continued infiltration of Negroes into an industry from which they were once almost excluded.

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[31] Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Department of Welfare, *Negro Survey of Pennsylvania*, pp. 18-19.

[32] Out of 2,413 Negro tinplate and tinware workers 904 were tinsmiths. U. S. Census, *Reports on Occupations*, 1920. See Table 50.

A considerable increase has taken place also among Negroes in the manufacture of chemical and allied products. Some of these have found employment at oil and gas wells and in oil refineries. Many of these laborers are engaged in West Virginia. An investigator of the Negro in Pennsylvania in 1925 commenting upon the industrial expansion of the Negro, reported that black laborers had made remarkable advances in the many other industries such as oil and gas. In the natural gas and petroleum district in the center of the State it was likewise reported that a large number of Negroes were employed.[36] In the large oil refineries, such as are located at Bayonne, New Jersey, Negroes have found employment in recent years.

The rush of large numbers of Negroes into automobile factories has been unprecedented. Up to the War the number of Negroes engaged in this industry was negligible. Their going into these factories just as into the iron and steel mills and railroad shops was effected by various causes already mentioned. There was an acute labor shortage and then came the lure of unheard of wages. This industry which was largely localized in Michigan, and especially Detroit, was removed from the main path of the Negro migration. Hence in order to attract laborers her industries offered flattering wages ranging from $5.00 to $10.00 a day for unskilled labor.[37] Laborers white and black flocked to Detroit from all sections of the country and from various parts of Europe. The United States Department of Labor estimated that in the year 1916-1917 between 25,000 and 35,000 Negroes had come to Detroit.[38]

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[33] Epstein, *Negro Migrant in Pittsburgh*, p. 31.

[34] One of these reads as follows: " 'Colored men with Westinghouse.' Ambitious workmen find promotion and reward on their honest efforts at the main works of the Westinghouse Company at East Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. . . . Write or come to the Employment Department of Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company, East Pittsburgh, Pa."—*Afro-American* (Baltimore), May 31, 1923.

[35] *Opportunity*, March 1926, p. 90.

[36] *Negro Survey in Pennsylvania*, p. 18.

Most of these entered the automobile factories. The rush into these factories was really astounding. In 1914 there were less than 1,000 Negroes in all the automobile factories of Detroit.[39] Three years later, however, the Packard Motor Company alone employed 1,100 with about a thousand more distributed throughout seven other factories.[40] The Packard Company claims the distinction of having been the first concern of the sort to hire Negroes.[41] By 1918 the number of Negroes in these plants had increased to between

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[37] The pressing need of Michigan enterprises for laborers caused her industrial captains to make theretofore unheard of wage conditions.—Haynes, *Negro at Work during the World War and Reconstruction*, p. 77; Scott, *Negro Migration during the War*, pp. 129-130; Haynes, *Negro Newcomers to Detroit; Southern Workman*, Nov. 1923, p. 540.

[38] Haynes, *Negro at Work during the War and Reconstruction*, p. 77.

[39] *Scribner's Magazine*, March 1921, p. 338.

[40] These were distributed as follows: Ford Motor Car Company, 200; Continental Motor Car Company, 200; Chalmers Motor Car Company, 62; Hupp Motor Car Company, 20; Paige Detroit Motor Car Company, 20; Hudson Motor Car Company, 50; Saxon Motor Car Company, 20.—Haynes, *Negro Newcomers to Detroit*, published by the Home Missions Council, New York City, 1917; United States Department of Labor, *Negro at Work During the War and Reconstruction*, p. 78.

[41] "It is said that at a meeting of the employment managers of 79 firms one manager offered to trade two colored men for one white. The Packard firm accepted the offer; the trade was made with surprisingly good results according to the testimony of the labor officials. Mr. E. H. Roberts, Vice-President in charge of Manufacturing, Packard Motor Company, has this to say: 'We have found the Negro both in skilled and semi-skilled labor is a good worker, considerably better than the average European immigrant. We have

12,000 and 15,000.[42] According to an authority, writing in 1920, there were 25,800 Negro workers in automobile factories distributed throughout the automobile centers of the country.[43]

Although many Negroes were laid off during the depression in automobile manufacturing following the World War,[44] the revival of business in 1922 and 1923 showed that Negroes had gained a large place in this new industry. In 1923 Negroes were employed in no less than 500 industries but predominated in the automobile factories. The largest employer was the Ford Motor Company which had on its payroll a force of 5,000 Negroes out of a total of 110,000 workers. The Dodge Motor Car Company with 1,400 Negroes out of 18,000 workers stood next, followed by the Packard Company with 700.

These Negro workers were engaged in every sort of labor from the crudest to the most skilled.[45] Although thousands of Negro automobile workers in company with a far greater number of whites were thrown out of employment temporarily while the Ford Company was remodeling its plant prior to the manufacture of a new type of car, the number of Negroes engaged in the automobile industries is many times greater than in 1910. The Ford Company alone in 1929 had 15,000 Negroes on its payroll in the Detroit plants;[46] and scattered throughout the country there are several thousand other Negroes in its various assembling plants and in other automobile factories.[47] In May, 1930, Mr. John

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Negroes who have been in the employ of the Packard firm for a period of years and we regard them as good substantial men. I think the Negro has a real future in industry in America.' "—*Southern Workman*, Nov. 1923, pp. 535-536.

[42] *Scribner's Magazine*, March 1921, p. 338.

[43] Woofter, T. J., "The Negro and Industrial Peace" in *The Survey*, Dec. 18, 1928, p. 420.

[44] As late as June, 1924, the automobile industry of the country was employing 16.5 per cent less workers than in June 1923.—U. S. Department of Labor, *Monthly Labor Review*, XIX, Aug. 1924, pp. 143-144.

[45] *Southern Workman*, LII, pp. 535-536.

[46] *Opportunity*, May 1929, p. 143.

[47] On the whole, the existence of the Negro wage earner in Detroit is precarious on account of the irregular work there afforded.

C. Dancy, of Detroit, estimated the entire number of Negro employees in industries of the city at 17,000 with 11,000 employed in automobile plants. Ordinarily, he says, the total number in the industrial plants would be 24,000.

The number of Negroes working in shipbuilding plants also has increased largely since 1910. The increase of these workers was almost wholly due to the World War emergency when ships were vitally needed to combat the submarine warfare of the Germans.[48] Prior to 1916 most of the Negroes in this industry had been confined to Southern shipbuilding centers, such as Norfolk, Newport News, and Richmond, Virginia. Under the jurisdiction of the United States Shipping Board, however, calls were sent out for workers regardless of race and nationality and thousands of Negroes patriotically responded. As a result Negroes were soon found in shipbuilding yards in every section of the country. In all, 24,648 Negroes were employed in these shipyards until 1919. The number of Negroes engaged in shipyards has decreased considerably since then. This was due not only to the sudden cessation of hostilities but to the failure of the United States to develop a merchant marine sponsored by the Government subsidy. Still, however, these Negro workers are far in excess of the 4,000 employed before 1916. Although most of these Negroes were common laborers performing unskilled tasks, perhaps no occupation afforded so many opportunities for skilled labor as the shipbuilding industry. 4,963 or 20.7 per cent of the Negroes in shipyards were engaged in occupations which may be classed as skilled.[49]

Negro miners have likewise experienced marked gains beyond their number before the Great War. While not increasing at such a remarkable rate as some of the workers already mentioned, they have, notwithstanding, made substantial gains. This has been due largely to the demand for experienced miners in the coal and iron fields of West Virginia, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. Especially was this the case during the World War when foreign white miners who constituted the majority of these workers either answered the call to arms or moved up a rung higher in the industrial scale.

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[48] United States Department of Labor; Haynes, *The Negro at Work during the War and Reconstruction*, p. 58.

[49] *Ibid.*, p. 58.

As a result there occurred a transformation of Negro farm laborers into mine employees, thousands of whom flocked to the coal fields because of the higher wages paid for this work. Since it takes several months to convert a raw recruit into a skillful miner and since the demand in these States was acute they looked to the only available source of such workers.[50] These were the mine workers in the South, especially in the coal and iron regions of Birmingham, where about 25,000 miners, the vast majority of them Negroes, were employed.[51] Labor agents were thus dispatched to these mining communities to recruit Negro miners for Northern and Western points, and they were instrumental in carrying off these workers, despite the almost prohibitive cost of licenses to make their operations impossible.[52]

The importation of Negroes into disaffected areas as strike breakers has also been an effective means of increasing the number of Negro miners. Especially was this the case in the soft coal fields of Pennsylvania, where, because of foreign miners, the Negroes had made very little headway in entering prior to this period. During the prolonged coal strike of 1922 hundreds of Negroes were imported from the South as strike breakers.[53] The ultimate result was the introduction of a number of Negro miners into the Western Pennsylvania coal fields. The refusal of the owners to deal with the striking miners in the McConnelsville coal region ended in bringing a considerable number of Negro miners into this section and about Uniontown, Pennsylvania. Negroes from the South now virtually run these mines. Some few locals in the Western Pennsylvania section acquainted the Negroes with the controversy between themselves and their employers with the result that many Negroes are now members of their unions.

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[50] U. S. Department of Labor, *Negro Migration*, 1916-17, pp. 63, 64; Harris, Abram, "The Negro in the Coal Mining Industry" in *Opportunity*, February 1926, p. 47; *American Review of Reviews*, April 1919, p. 389.

[51] U. S. Department of Labor, *Negro Migration in 1916-17*, p. 53.

[52] The State license fee was $500 alone, the county fee was $250 and the cities and towns were also at liberty to impose a fee on emigrant agents. Birmingham and Bessemer, Alabama, in the heart of the Southern iron and coal belt in a desperate effort to preserve their labor supply added $500 and $300, respectively, making the total amount $1,250 in the former and $1,050 in the latter.—U. S. Department of Labor, *Negro Migration, 1916-17*, pp. 63-64.

[53] *United States House Hearings on Coal Legislation, 64th Congress*, 1st Session, March 30 to April 18, 1926, pp. 206-207; *Opportunity*, IV, p. 46.

The majority of these workers, moreover, retained their places, for a check-up of the number of Negro workers in the bituminous fields of Pennsylvania by the United States Coal Commission in 1920 revealed but 2,288 Negro workers.[54] Four years later the number had almost quadrupled. According to a district organizer of the United Mine Workers, there were 8,000 Negro miners in the Pittsburgh district alone.[55] The Federal Council of Churches, which also made a survey of the prolonged strike in the Western Pennsylvania coal field, reported that the Negroes employed in this disaffected area had increased from 586 in 1924 to 2,865 in 1927, one company having 800 Negroes out of a total working force of 2,000, most of whom had been recruited either from West Virginia or other Southern States.[56]

In the same manner Negro coal miners have increased in West Virginia since 1910, being 23,990 in 1925. The Northern section of that State had always employed more foreigners than Negroes.[57] In 1918 an agreement between several companies and the United Mine Workers was followed by the introduction of several hundred Negro workers into the Northern West Virginia coal fields. The shattering of the power of the United Mine Workers in Southern West Virginia after a reign of terror in 1921 led to the introduction of more Negro miners. During the long strike of 1924 an investigator who visited thirty of the mines where the workers had struck found that a year later the number of Negro miners had virtually doubled as strike breakers. He learned that twenty-four of these strike mines were employing a total of 3,200 miners, of whom 1,200 were Negroes. Before the strike twenty-four of these mines employed only 530 Negroes.[58] Four of the thirty mines employed no Negroes at all, two of these being union mines which adhered to the Jacksonville Agreement of March, 1924.

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[54] *Report of the U. S. Coal Commission*, Part III, p. 1506.

[55] According to a district organizer of the United Mine Workers 8,000 Negroes in the Pittsburgh District were members of the Union in 1924.—Harris, "Negroes in the Coal Industry" in *Opportunity*, Feb. 1926, p. 46.

[56] "The Coal Strike in Pennsylvania" in *Report for May*, 1928.

[57] Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

This pact simply reaffirmed the Cleveland Agreement of 1920 which provided for a uniform wage scale of $7.50 a day in the union fields of Ohio, Western Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Illinois. The agreement, made to combat the competition of cheap coal of West Virginia, was to remain in force until 1927.[59] In the same year the inability of the mine operatives and the union to agree to a satisfactory revision in the wage scale resulted in the abrogation of the agreement by the Pittsburgh Coal Company which attempted to reduce wages. This resulted from the diminishing demand for coal and the rivalry of the central competitive fields. Consequently occurred a strike during which an attempt was made to run the mines with non-union men. In this emergency many unemployed non-union blacks as well as whites eagerly accepted work under such terms. The Pittsburgh Coal Company alone brought in 3,000 Negro farm hands from the South as strike breakers in 1925.[60]

The largest number of Negro miners are employed in the Southern counties of West Virginia.[61] This is due largely to the fact that the United Mine Workers Union has been almost unable to gain a foothold in that section. According to the United States Coal Commission, there were 18,376[62] Negro miners employed in the State alone in 1920. These constituted 19.9 per cent[63] of the 92,351 miners of all classes in the State.[64] By 1925 this number had increased still further, for a survey of the Negro coal miners in that State that year reported 22,421.

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[58] *Opportunity*, IV, p. 48.

[59] *Report of the U. S. Coal Commission*, Part III, p. 1046 (note).

[60] *U. S. House Hearings on Coal Legislation*, 64th Congress, 1st Session, Part II, March 30-April 18, 1926, pp. 206-207.

[61] In 1910 there were 39,567 coal operatives. By 1920, due to the increased demand for coal during the War, the number had grown to 54,597. According to the U. S. Coal Commission in 1925, the total number of Negro miners

Negroes found their second largest opportunity for work in the coal mines in Alabama. Of the 25,000 coal miners in the State in 1916 it was reported that Negroes comprised the greater part of this force.[65] The Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad Company, the largest employer of Negro labor in the South in that year, had 7,211 coal miners on its pay roll. Of these almost two-thirds, 4,564, were Negroes, and 2,647 white. The report of the United States Coal Commission in 1925 showed that despite the loss to Alabama of Negro miners through migration[66] and despite the slump in the coal industry which reduced the total number of Negroes by one-half, Negro coal miners still constituted over one-half the workers in the Alabama coal mines. The report listed a total of 12,979 mine workers, 6,843 or 53 per cent of whom were Negroes.[67]

The Negroes in the non-union coal fields of West Virginia and Alabama perform every type of work of which they are capable. In many of these mines Negroes are acting as foremen and overseers, managers, and inspectors. In West Virginia, where the largest number of Negro coal miners toil, a survey of Negro workers in 1925 reported Negroes as holding positions which require skill and training.

given is 42,489.—*Report of U. S. Coal Commission*, Part IV, p. 1425. Forty-six of these workers were in the anthracite coal fields.—*Ibid.*

[62] *Report of U. S. Coal Commission*, Part III, p. 1506.

[63] *Ibid.*, p. 1415.

[64] *Ibid.*, p. 1506.

[65] U. S. Department of Labor, *Negro Migration*, 1916-17, p. 53.

[66] Haynes, George E., "The Negro at Work" in *Review of Reviews*, April 1919, p. 389; U. S. Department of Labor, *Negro Migration*, 1916-17, p. 53.

[67] *Report of United States Coal Commission*, 1925, Part III, p. 1508.

Negro foremen, bosses and inspectors, were becoming common, and few occupations were closed to the race. Negroes were also filling all positions from tripper to manager and as such were considered an important asset to the coal industry. In the iron and coal fields of Tennessee and Georgia, where Negroes are freely used, many of them are likewise performing much of the better paid and skilled work.[68]

Even in the Pennsylvania bituminous fields Negroes are holding responsible positions. According to the Negro Survey of that State in 1925, it was reported in the Chartiers Valley, also in the Pittsburgh district, that Negroes held excellent positions in the soft coal mines of Carnegie, Canonsburg, Houston, and Washington.''[69]

In contrast to the gains recorded by the Negro coal miners since 1910, virtually no change occurred among the Negroes in iron mines during this period. Most of them, as prior to 1917, are employed in the mines of Alabama, Eastern Tennessee, or Northeastern Georgia. In the iron regions of the Great Lakes and Pennsylvania the work has always been performed mainly by whites. In the Southern iron mines Negroes have always predominated. Typical is Alabama where a large company with a roster of thousands of iron miners in 1916 had 80 per cent of its force Negroes.[70] The larger proportion of Negro iron miners in the South in contrast to coal miners is due to the unattractiveness of iron mining to the whites because of the great endurance which the work requires. Negroes in other such mines are scarce owing to the location of these mines in States where few Negroes reside.

Negro workers in marble and granite quarries, marble yards and building stone materials used in constructing and paving have recently lost ground. This has come about both as a result of the entry of Negroes into factories since 1910 as well as in consequence of a slump in quarrying.[71] This is well illustrated by Georgia where stone quarrying has always been important and usually offered large opportunities to such workers. In 1923 this industry employed 4,344 persons, 856 of whom were Negroes.[72] A year later the total number had fallen to 3,960 and the Negro employees to 803.[73] By 1926 the number of plants had dropped from 120 in 1923 to 106. The total number of employees listed that year was only 2,925, and the Negro workers numbered 740.[74]

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[68] T. Edward Hill, *Report*, p. 37, *Monthly Labor Review*, Vol. XXI, 1925, p. 257.

[69] Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, *Negro Survey of Pennsylvania*, p. 18.

[70] United States Department of Labor, *Negro Migration*, 1916-17, p. 53.

Negroes employed in car and railroad shops also have considerably increased since 1910. Such was the influx of migrant Negroes into these positions that in 1918 it was estimated that 50 per cent of the employees of the American Car and Foundry Company of St. Louis were Negroes.[75] In the Pullman shops of Chicago in 1920 about 15,000 Negroes were working and the employers expressed satisfaction with their labor.[76] The American Car and Foundry Company of Chicago, which employed no Negroes before the War, had twenty on its payroll in 1920.[77] In Cleveland, according to the United States Department of Labor, Negroes were found in semi-skilled and skilled positions in foundries in 1924, although the most of them were performing unskilled tasks.[78] Despite the general slump in industry [79] since 1923, however, the number of Negroes working in car and railroad shops is even now more than twice as great as in 1910.

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[71] In Georgia alone between 1923 and 1926 the capital invested in quarries and marble and stone yards decreased from $15,389,548 to $12,365,133.—See *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Commerce and Labor of the State of Georgia*, 1923, p. 9; and *Ibid.*, 1926, p. 7.

[72] *Ibid.*, 1923, p. 9.

[73] *Ibid.*, 1924, p. 9.

[74] *Ibid.*, 1925 and 1926, p. 7.

[75] Scott, *Negro Migration during the World War*, p. 97.

[76] Woofter, T. J., *The Negro and Industrial Peace* in the *Survey*, Dec. 18, 1920, p. 420.

[77] By 1922 this number had decreased to 450. *The Negro in Chicago*, by the Chicago Commission on Race Relations, University of Chicago Press, 1927, p. 361.

[78] *Monthly Labor Review*, XIX, July, 124, p. 44.

[79] According to the U. S. Department of Labor in June 1924 there were

A large increase in outside railroad laborers,[80] moreover, has also followed in recent years.[81] Faced with an alarming labor shortage, the large railroads of the North and West eagerly recruited workers from among the Southern blacks.[82] The first railroad to do this was the Erie, which, in the summer of 1916, picked up "9,000 Negroes from Florida, Georgia and Kentucky."[83] Another large railroad brought 10,000 Negroes from the Baltimore docks and distributed them in railroad camps along its line in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati and other cities. Still another railroad brought 17,000 Negro laborers from that quarter.[84] One of the largest employers of black workers was the New York Central which had large camps at Weehawken, New York City, and Cleveland.[85] Similarly the Pennsylvania Railroad concentrated Negro workers at Grand Point, Philadelphia, Mantua Transfer, and Harrisburg.[86] In New England, where Negro railroad workers were almost unknown before 1917, thousands were brought in by the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Company, for track repairing and maintenance.[87] Western railroads like the Illinois Central were also large employers of Negro labor.[88] These laborers, however, were not as fortunate as those who worked inside of the shops.

After the World War the restriction of immigration enabled the Negroes to fortify their position as railroad workers in the North. With the return of prosperity about 1922-

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22.7 per cent fewer persons employed in car and railroad shops than in June 1923.—*Monthly Labor Review*, XIX, June 1924, pp. 143, 144.

[80] United States Department of Labor, *Monthly Labor Review*, Nov. 1924, p. 161.

[81] Haynes, *The Negro at Work during the War and Reconstruction*, p. 10; United States Department of Labor, *Negro Migration 1916-1917*, pp. 122, 123.

[82] Epstein, *Negro Migrant in Pittsburgh*, p. 21; *The Nation*, Feb. 8, 1917, p. 149; *Scribner's Magazine*, March 1921, p. 338.

[83] United States Department of Labor, *Negro Migration 1916-1917*, p. 122.

[84] *The Nation*, Feb. 8, 1917, pp. 149; *New York Age*, Jan. 30, 1917.

[85] U. S. Dept. of Labor, *Negro Migration 1916-1917*, p. 122.

[86] Scott, *Negro Migration during the War*, p. 69.

[87] U. S. Dept. of Labor, *Negro Migration*, p. 122.

[88] This was especially true of lines which extended into the South.

1923[89] Negroes were again brought from the South to supply the urgent need for such laborers. The demand for railroad workers went on unabated. In 1926 it was reported that railroads in the North and West were eagerly bidding for Negro track workers and that "wages for this work were higher than those in other lines usually employing

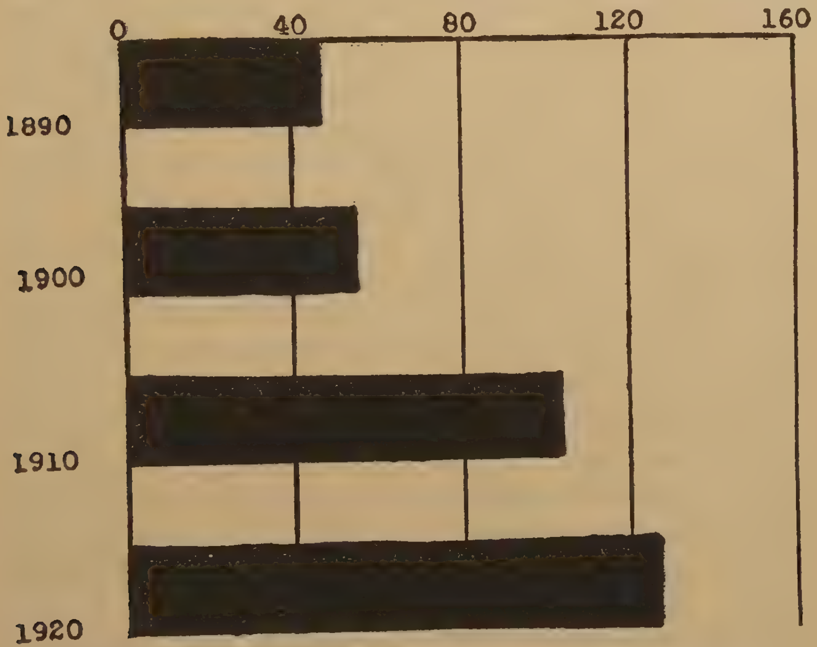

DIAGRAM 17.—INCREASE OF NEGRO WORKERS ON STEAM RAILROADS, BY THOUSANDS, 1890 TO 1920.

Negroes."[90] In the same year New York, Wisconsin, and Illinois were compelled to import workers from the South. In many cases the demand for these Negro laborers was made more attractive by the wage scale of 42 cents an hour. A steady increase of these workers has, therefore, resulted.

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[89] U. S. Dept. of Labor, *Monthly Labor Review*, "Negro Migration to the North," March 1924, p. 475 *et seq.*

[90] *Literary Digest*, June 23, 1923; U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, *Extension Work Among Negroes*, 1923, p. 7; U. S. Dept. of Labor, *Release Oct. 24, 1923; Review of Reviews*, Oct. 1923, pp. 401, 407; *Opportunity*, Feb. 1927, p. 51.

In 1910 approximately 103,000 Negroes were classed as railroad workers; by 1920 the number had grown to 126,000; and by 1924 to 136,000.[91]

Most of the Negro railroad laborers are engaged in the rough unskilled tasks as road bed repairers, maintenance of way men, and the like. It was chiefly for such a purpose that thousands of them were brought North by the leading railway lines. Accordingly, of the 136,000 Negro railroad workers in 1924, 115,000 were either common laborers or porters. The remainder performed various unskilled jobs such as firemen, brakemen, switchmen, flagmen, boiler workers, and engine hostlers. Others held positions entailing more or less responsibility such as baggage and freight agents, conductors, inspectors of ways and structures, and superintendents. A few were employed in skilled capacities such as engineers (chiefly in the yards), telegraphers, and telephone and telegraph linemen. The New York Central Lines employed four Negro women telegraphers in 1924.[92]

Skilled or semi-skilled Negro workers on railroads are not very numerous. This is because such labor affords opportunity for few skilled laborers and secondly because of the prejudice of white workers against Negroes in such positions. A case in point was the denial of the privilege of seniority in promotion to the Negro switchmen, brakemen and linemen of the Illinois Central Railroad at its Memphis Terminal. The seniority of the Negro workers was unfairly restricted to head-on-men only. The Negro workers in line for promotion by virtue of their seniority demanded this privilege. The case was brought before the Railroad Labor Board which decided in favor of the Negroes.

According to the United States Department of Labor the

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[91] There were 136,065 Negro railroad laborers in 1924. Of these 115,937 or 85.2 per cent were either common laborers or porters. U. S. Dept. of Labor, *Monthly Labor Bulletin*, Nov. 1924, p. 161.

[92] These, however, were exceptions to the rule of trades unions and to social repression.

Negro employees on railroads were distributed in 1924 according to the accompanying table.

TABLE 43.—NEGROES ENGAGED IN RAILROAD LABOR IN 1924

Baggagemen and freight agents	111
Boilerwashers and engine hostlers	2,377
Brakemen	4,485
Conductors	33
Engineers	111
Firemen	6,478
Inspectors of ways and structures	202
Laborers	95,713
Porters (train and Pullman)	20,224
Superintendents	2
Foremen and overseers	1,195
Switchmen and flagmen	2,874
Telegraphers	97
Telegraph and telephone linemen	202
Miscellaneous Occupations	1,961
Total	136,065

Most of these workers were in the Southern States. Only a few of the Northern States had more than a thousand Negro railroad workers. The smallest number was reported from New Hampshire which boasted of one brakeman, two laborers, and one switchman.[93]

TABLE 44.—DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRO WORKERS ON RAILROADS

Georgia	10,865	Ohio	3,219
Louisiana	9,141	Maryland	2,221
Virginia	9,010	West Virginia	2,052
Alabama	8,844	Oklahoma	1,807
Texas	8,381	Indiana	1,167
Tennessee	8,100	New York	1,127
Arkansas	4,184	Mississippi	7,744
Kentucky	3,916	North Carolina	5,321
South Carolina	3,858	Florida	5,091
Missouri	3,706	Illinois	4,554
Pennsylvania	3,569		

Large as the number of Negro railroad workers is several factors have made for a slight diminution. One of these has been the result of the industrial depression of the last few years during which railroad employment as a whole has fallen off.[94] According to the United States Department of Labor, railroad employment in 1928 was only 88.7 per cent of what it was in 1923. Railroads of the country were likewise using about 35,000 fewer laborers in 1928 than in 1927. Naturally this affected Negro laborers especially, since roads like the Southern and Louisville and Nashville Railways were employing only 91.3 and 92.6 per cent respectively in 1927.[95]

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[93] U. S. Dept. of Labor, *Monthly Labor Review*, Nov. 1924, p. 161.
[94] *Ibid.*, Oct. 1928, p. 158.

Another factor making for a reduction in the ranks of the Negro railroad employees has been the competition of Mexican workers in California and Texas. In many cases not only have they taken the places of migrating Negroes, but have also secured jobs in places which ordinarily would have fallen to Negroes.[96] To-day the Mexicans rank as an important factor among railroad laborers. Almost three hundred thousand Mexicans have crossed the border since 1920, and thousands have secured work not only on the railroads of the Southwest and West but even on Eastern lines. In 1928 it was reported that approximately 20,000 were employed on six of these railroads alone. One of the largest Eastern roads was also reported to have over a thousand Mexicans in its employ.[97]

Just what the eventual effect of Mexican competition with the Negro for his low grade work will be is difficult at present to ascertain, but it is generally admitted that the Mexican, though small, is tough and wiry and a good worker. Furthermore, he is a cheaper laborer than the Negro, for he brings along with him a lower standard of living than his black brother, and is, therefore, content to work for lower wages.[98] In this connection cheaper Mexican labor, as one writer has intimated, may be used as a whip over Negro labor by capitalists to force down wages even as the Negro has been used as a whip over white labor. As a result of the recently inaugurated immigration policy the annual influx of the Mexicans has been decreased from approximately 50,000 to about 5,000.

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[95] In July 1927 there were 487,429 railroad workers of all kinds; in July 1928 the number had decreased to 452,732, a loss of 34,697 workers or 7.1 per cent.—*Ibid.*, Oct. 20, 1928, p. 158.

[96] *Abstract of the United States Department of Commerce*, 1926, pp. 90-91. (Immigration and Emigration.)

[97] "The Mexican has made an important place for himself in the railroads of the country. Thousands are employed by the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé Railroad on all its lines, and other thousands on the Rock Island. From information available we estimate nearly 10,000 Mexicans on these two systems alone. The Denver & Rio Grande Western Railroad reports 3,000; the Great Northern Railroad from 500 to 1,000 (varying with the season); the Southern Pacific Line 4,276 in Texas and Louisiana; the Northern Pacific several hundred; and the Pennsylvania Lines, 1,290 regular Mexican employees and several hundred additional seasonal workers."—Stowell, Jay S., "The Danger of Unrestricted Mexican Immigration" in *Current History*, Aug. 1928, p. 765.

[98] *Current History*, Aug. 1928, pp. 767-768.

A much smaller number of Negroes are employed on street railways. They have likewise increased very little in recent years, although there has been some increase among them in the North due to the labor shortage during and after the World War. But even this has been largely offset by the displacement of the trolley car in small urban communities by the automobile bus. The few thousand Negroes employed by street railways are mainly common laborers such as track layers, car cleaners, porters and the like. Occasionally they are elevated to supervisory positions as foremen.[99] In large Northern cities like Philadelphia, New York, Chicago, St. Louis, Omaha, Cleveland, and Boston Negro street car laborers are common. This work in the South has long been associated with Negroes which they even now largely perform. Accordingly, most of the street car laborers in Baltimore, Norfolk, Washington and other Southern cities are Negroes. Negroes are usually not employed as motormen or conductors except in notable instances, being vigorously excluded by the unions,[100] but Negroes have found employment in the increasing subway construction which has been going on for the last few years in Eastern cities. Other qualified Negroes have secured jobs as skilled workers such as drillers or draftsmen on engineering staffs.

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[99] On the street railways a number of Negroes occupy positions as foremen, but in general they do the common labor work.—Nearing, Scott, *Black America*, New York, 1929, p. 80; *Report of the Missouri Negro Industrial Commission*, 1921-1922, p. 64.

[100] Exceptional cases are listed by the National Negro Urban League which stated in 1926 that Negroes are being employed as conductors on the elevated railway of Boston; as conductors and motormen in the street railway service of Cleveland and Detroit.—*Opportunity*, Feb. 1926, p. 44; Jan. 1, 1927, p. 51. From Philadelphia it was reported in 1928, "Continuing as of last month the street railway system is undergoing extensive improvements. In this connection it is noted that there are two large track laying crews entirely colored with colored track layers in charge."—*Afro-American*, August 25, 1928.

CHAPTER XIV

IN OTHER INDUSTRIES IN SMALLER NUMBERS

DURING these years thousands of other Negroes pushed higher up in various spheres. For example, before the World War the Negroes were just entering the food industry and then chiefly to play the rôle of strike breakers.[1] The labor shortage both during and following that conflict, however, so affected this branch of industry that its promoters were glad to reverse their traditional policy of hiring as few Negroes as possible and even to solicit their labor.[2] Especially was this applicable to the large meat packing concerns of Chicago,[3] St. Louis,[4] and Kansas City.[5] In 1915 sixteen food packing establishments in Chicago employed 1,103 Negroes; by 1916 the number had grown to 2,529; by 1917 to 4,765; by 1918 to 6,510, but dropped to 5,379 in 1920.[6] Yet these sixteen plants in Chicago alone in 1920 employed more Negroes than were reported by all stockyards throughout the country in 1910.[7]

Even Negro women under the stress of necessity were employed in the meat packing plants.[8] In abattoirs, stockyards, and tanneries they were employed in all capacities except the actual butchering and inspecting of meats.[9] According to the United States Department of Labor these Negro women, newcomers to industry, trimmed, assorted, and graded different portions of the carcasses; they separated and cleaned the viscera, prepared, cured and canned the meats, and graded, cleaned, cured, and tanned the hides.[10] 437 were still employed there even in 1920.[11]

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[1] This was often done at great risk, for the "law" was against them.

[2] See various studies of the migration already cited.

[3] *Report of the Chicago Commission on Race Relations. The Negro in Chicago*, pp. 361-366.

[4] Scott, *Negro Migration during the War;* Biennial Report of the Missouri Negro Industrial Commission, 1921-22, p. 65.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 65.

[6] The Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *The Negro in Chicago, A Study of Race Relations and a Race Riot*, p. 361.

[7] See U. S. Bureau of the Census, *14th Census, Population, Occupations*, Vol. IV, p. 347.

[8] U. S. Dept. of Labor, Women's Bureau—*Negro Women in Industry, Bulletin No. 20*, 1922, p. 19; Women's Bureau, *Women in Missouri Industries*, p. 39. See also other publications of the Women's Bureau on Women in Industry for various States, 1920-1929.

In St. Louis and East St. Louis where the Negroes were just gaining a foothold in the meat packing industry in 1914, several thousand newcomers were easily inducted into such plants in 1917.[12] In the large plants of Swift, Armour, and Wilson, Negroes were employed in large numbers. It was also reported that about 50 per cent were skilled workers.[13] Three of these plants employed over 2,250 Negroes at the close of the World War.[14] Even in the Far West Negroes were brought into packing plants. In Denver, the leading meat slaughtering, packing, and distributing center of that section, however, only a few Negroes worked in the stockyards.[15]

Just how many Negroes were employed in the packing houses at the peak of war production is not known with any exactitude. However, the estimate of 15,000 [16] cannot be far from the actual figure if indeed it did not exceed that number. The Department of Labor placed the number of Negroes in the Chicago stockyards at 5,300 in 1921.[17] In the same year it was estimated that over 7,500 Negroes were working in packing houses.[18] This figure may have been somewhat below the real number, for in Chicago alone four meat packing plants gave employment to almost that number.[19] This does not take into consideration the number employed in other such concerns.[20] Following the slump in American industry which caused the laying off of some of these workers,[21] the 1922 boom again increased the number in these plants [22] until at present, despite subsequent dull seasons [23] and a slight dimunition below that of the World War period, the total number of Negroes engaged in such work is far in advance of that in 1916. The extensive employment of Negroes in the Chicago and St. Louis packing houses and their introduction into plants in other cities has far outstripped the little over five thousand workers who had gone into the meat packing industry by 1910.[24] Swift and Company alone employed approximately fourteen hundred Negroes in Chicago even during the depression of 1930.

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[9] U. S. Dept. of Labor, Haynes, *The Negro at Work during the World War and Reconstruction*, p. 126.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 62.

[11] *Negro Women in Industry, Bulletin No. 70*, p. 18, 57; *The Negro in Chicago*, p. 361.

[12] Scott, *Negro Migration during the War*, p. 100.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 100.

[14] The Swift Packing Co., the Morris Packing Co., and the Armour Packing Co. had 450, 800 and 1,000 Negroes on their respective payrolls in 1919.—*Biennial Report of the Negro Industrial Commission of Missouri*, 1921-1922, p. 65.

[15] Reid, Ira DeA., *The Negro Population of Denver, Colo., A Survey of its Economic and Social Status.* (Prepared for the Denver Interracial Committee), 1920, pp. 9-10.

[16] *Survey*, Dec. 15, 1920, p. 420.

[17] *Monthly Labor Review*, March 1924, pp. 10-11.

Most of the Negroes in the slaughtering and meat packing industry are employed in unskilled labor.[25] In 1919, 5,619 Negroes were working in the Chicago stockyards [26] on jobs requiring no skill, and at the rate of 40 cents an hour. Three years later it was said that in eight different plants employing 7,597 Negroes, 7,356, or 98.9 per cent of them, were performing unskilled tasks[27] as pilers, truckers, rubbers, cleaners, laborers on hog killing, and sausage making.[28] The same may be applied to most other large meat packing centers like St. Paul,[29] St. Louis,[30] Kansas City,[31] and Denver.[32] Many Negroes as a result have become discouraged, feeling that for them there is no chance of promotion. As a consequence it was found that ambitious ones had lost "hope on the job."[33]

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[18] *U. S. Census Reports on Occupation, 1920*, table.

[19] The Armour and Company Stockyards employed 2,084; the Morris & Co. 1,400; Swift & Co. 2,278; and Wilson & Co. 818.—Report of Chicago Race Commission, *The Negro in Chicago*, p. 361, Table XXI.

[20] *Biennial Report of the Negro Industrial Commission of Missouri*, 1921-1922, p. 65

[21] Although thrown out of employment most of these Negroes remained in the North.

[22] *Literary Digest*, May 9, 1923, pp. 539-541; *World's Work*, June 1924, p. 186; *Monthly Labor Review*.

[23] A survey by the U. S. Department of Labor reported that the slaughtering and meat packing industry was employing 7.1 per cent fewer workers in June 1924 than in the same month in 1923.—*Monthly Labor Review*, August 1924, pp. 143-144.

[24] Compare the reports of the United States Bureau of the Census.

[25] U. S. Dept. of Labor, Haynes, *Negro at Work during the World War and Reconstruction*, p. 35; *Monthly Labor Review*, March 1924, pp. 10-11; *Survey*, Dec. 18, 1921; p. 420.

[26] Haynes, *Negro at Work*, etc., p. 35.

The few Negroes engaged in skilled or semi-skilled work in the stockyards have been used chiefly as gutters, skinners, butchers, splitters, rump sawyers, backers, trimmers, caul pullers, knife men, knockers, and dippers.[34] Of the 241 skilled and semi-skilled Negro laborers that were employed in the Chicago plants in 1920 and constituted but 1.1 per cent[35] of all the employees it was said that the Negro skilled workers were satisfactory. One official added that "they are among the best knife men we have."[36] A Far Western slaughter house engaged a Negro as hog buyer,[37] but in the main very few Negroes held such positions of responsibility. Some rose to foremen, but only to supervise groups of Negroes, not mixed groups, the supposition being that white workmen would refuse to take orders from a Negro boss.[38]

In some industries closely related to meat packing less progress has been noted. Only a small increase has been observed among the few Negro tanners and curriers recently. Since 1917 additional Negro men and women even have been admitted to tanning factories. Most of them have worked on the most disagreeable processes such as "grading, cleaning, currying, and tanning" hides.[39] A survey made by the United States Department of Labor in 1918 disclosed 130 Negro women performing such work.[40] In Chicago a survey found that seven tanneries employing no Negroes in 1915 had 462 on their payrolls in 1920.[41] Most of the Negroes in these plants were assigned to the most noisome and disagreeable processes while the whites performed most of the desirable tasks. This was not because the Negroes were incapable of doing such work but because white foremen in some instances refused to experiment with them.

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[27] *The Negro in Chicago*, p. 374.

[28] U. S. Department of Labor, Haynes, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-46.

[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46.

[30] *Biennial Report of Negro Industrial Commission of Missouri*, 1921-22, p. 65.

[31] *Ibid.*, 65.

[32] Reid, *The Negro Population of Denver, Colorado*, p. 9.

[33] *The Negro in Chicago*, p. 390.

[34] U. S. Department of Labor, *The Negro at Work*, etc., pp. 45-46.

[35] *The Negro in Chicago*, p. 374.

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 374.

[37] Reid, *The Negro Population of Denver, Colorado, ut supra* (1929), p. 10.

[38] "The general superintendent of one of the packing companies admitted that he had never tried out a Negro as foreman over a mixed gang because he wouldn't want to work under a Negro himself. Such an attitude on the part of a general superintendent closes the door to experimentation and limits the opportunities of even the most capable Negroes."—Report of Chicago Race Commission, *The Negro in Chicago*, p. 390.

Typical of this view is the following instance. A tanning company reported that when it attempted to fill skilled positions with Negroes the foremen said they would never be able to teach them as long as they lived. "It can't be done." The foremen were told, however, that they had to do it, and they now agree it can be done and are quite won over to the point of employing Negroes.[42] Another tannery employing 175 Negroes out of 600 employees not only notified their foremen in the same manner respecting the elevation of Negroes to skilled labor but also gave frequent lectures to foremen to be tolerant of the Negro worker's shortcomings and patient toward his mistakes.[43] These plants now report 175 skilled Negroes.[44] In Waukegan, Illinois, a tanning establishment employed sixty Negroes in 1926.[45]

The Negro still has very little place not only in the making of leather but in the production of articles therefrom.

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[39] Based on the testimony of observers and of the workers themselves.

[40] Haynes, *The Negro at Work during the World War and the Reconstruction*, pp. 45-46.

[41] *Report of the Chicago Race Commission*, p. 464.

[42] *Ibid.*, pp. 377-378.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 377.

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 364.

[45] *Opportunity*, February 1926, p. 70.

A few additional Negroes were taken into shoe factories chiefly as a result of dire necessity in 1917. The number at present is very small.[46] The majority of these are porters, sweepers, and drivers of trucks.[47] As the shoe industry tends to spread westward from New England the number of Negroes employed therein increases. One St. Louis plant during this period had 100 on its pay roll.[48] Fifty Negroes were taken into a shoe factory in Long Island in 1926.[49] These workers were reported to be giving satisfaction.[50]

The majority of the Negroes listed under boot and shoe makers and repairers are in reality cobblers whose numbers have been diminished chiefly through the widespread use of machinery. Most of them, moreover, have small shops of their own, mainly in the Southern and Border States,[51] but they are not able to compete with well equipped establishments organized and operated on the principle of the division of labor.

Negroes in other leather industries are few in number, either because of the highly specialized character of the work or because of the white workers opposed to admitting persons of African blood.[52] Among these may be included such as trunk and leather case makers, curriers, and saddle makers. What little increase has taken place in these industries resulted from the labor shortage since 1916, but the total number of Negroes in these plants is negligible.[53]

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[46] See U. S. Bureau of the Census, *14th Census, Population, Occupations*, Vol. IV, p. 347.

[47] Here again custom and race antipathy keep the Negroes out.

[48] *Biennial Report of the Negro Industrial Commission of Missouri*, 1921-1922, p. 65.

[49] Various causes, as usual, contributed to this change of attitude.

[50] *Biennial Report of the Negro Industrial Commission of Missouri*, p. 65.

[51] Harmon, Lindsay and Woodson, *The Negro as a Business Man*, 1929, Washington, D. C., p. 29. *Biennial Report of the Negro Industrial Commission of Missouri*, 1923-1924, p. 33.

[52] The old time methods of the few once working in this field will not suffice.

[53] There were only 405 Negro harness and saddle makers and repairers in 1920 and only 375 trunk and leather case makers.—See table in Appendix. The number of Negroes in leather goods factories is on the advance, however. This is attested by the hiring of 125 colored girls on new processes in a St. Louis establishment in 1927.—*Opportunity*, Feb. 1921, p. 52.

Saddle makers and repairers have been all but eliminated by the widespread use of the automobile, which has largely replaced the horse.

Only a few Negroes, too, are found in soap factories, and these entered such plants as the Cudahy Soap factory in Chicago largely as a result of conditions affecting other industries.[54] The number of Negroes in paint and varnish factories still remains negligible. A large number of Negro men and women found employment in munitions plants and in the manufactories of powder, dynamite, fireworks, and the like during the World War.[55] After the passing of this emergency, however, the number shrank to former insignificant proportions.

Smaller increases in the number of Negro employees were noted in other branches. For instance, the Negro workers in vegetable and fruit canning factories have considerably increased since 1910, although the number has remained comparatively small. The majority of these were taken on during the labor shortage of 1917,[56] and a considerable number have been retained.[57] Most of these were women and girls.[58] In 1918 the Department of Labor found a considerable number of Negroes employed in such factories, 428 of whom were women engaged as canners of fruits, vegetables, and meats.[59] The Corn Products Refining Company in Chicago alone had 500 Negro men and women on its pay roll in 1920.[60] A survey by the Women's Bureau in the same year disclosed 779 Negro women workers in canneries and other food packing establishments.[61] An investigation in Pennsylvania in 1925 showed that 2,531 Negroes were employed in the food industries of that State.[62] Recent surveys have revealed that a goodly number of Negroes are engaged in the tomato and other vegetable canning industries of Delaware, and in the meat, fruit, and vegetable canneries of Ohio,[63] Missouri,[64] Alabama,[65] Pennsylvania,[66] and Mississippi.[67] Most of these are Negro women, the work being agreeable to female labor. One of the main recommendations for Negro labor in this work is its comparative cheapness, for in most instances the wage scale for Negroes is lower than that agreed upon for the whites.

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[54] Scott, *Negro Migration during the War*, p. 109.

[55] See U. S. Department of Labor, Haynes, *The Negro at Work during the World War and Reconstruction*, p. 126; *Negro Migration in* 1916-1917; *Negro Women in Industry*, No. 20, pp. 6, 7, 9; Consumers League of Eastern Pennsylvania, *A New Day for the Colored Woman Worker* (1919).

[56] U. S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, *Negro Women in Industry, Bulletin No. 20*, 1921, pp. 3, 18, 19; Haynes, *The Negro at Work during the War and Reconstruction*, pp. 125, 126.

[57] U. S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, *Negro Women in Industry*, p. 11. See Publications of Women's Bureau, *Bulletins No. 34, 35*, p. 39.

[58] *Ibid.*, 39.

[59] Haynes, *Negro at Work during the War and Reconstruction*, p. 125.

[60] *The Negro in Chicago*, p. 361.

In the fish curing, packing, and canning industry with which Negroes have long been associated, they are employed in average numbers. Most of these are employed along the Chesapeake Bay oyster and fishing communities and in the Gulf States to which the center of the oyster and shrimp canning industry has recently been removed.[68] A study of the oyster and shrimp canning communities on the Gulf Coast by Viola Paradise, of the Children's Bureau, revealed that a considerable number of Negro men, women, and children were engaged in this seasonal industry. Children between the ages of five and six are common. Both white and black children, because of the small earnings of their parents, are compelled to work in these factories. The work is hard and dangerous on account of the frequency of cuts from the oyster knives and the laceration and infection of the skin resulting from the poison carried in the head of the shrimp.[69] The fathers are usually employed as boatmen, oyster tongers, and shrimp catchers. Many of these factories can sweet potatoes or other vegetables when oysters and shrimp are not in season.[70]

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[61] 155 Negro women alone were employed in the canning of beans, tomatoes, and other vegetables in Delaware.—U. S. Department of Labor, *Bulletin of Women's Bureau No. 62, Women's Employment in Vegetable Canneries in Delaware* (1927), p. 13.

[62] Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Department of Welfare, *Negro Survey in Pennsylvania* (1927), p. 20.

[63] 104 Negro women were employed in the food factories in Ohio.—*Bulletin of the Women's Bureau No. 44, Negro Women in Ohio Industries*, p. 101.

[64] 815 Negro women were reported in Missouri food factories in 1924.—*Bulletin of the Women's Bureau No. 35*, 1924, *Women in Missouri Industries*, p. 39.

[65] 274 Negro women were employed in the vegetable and fruit canning industry of Alabama in 1922.—Women's Bureau, *Bulletin No. 34, Women in Alabama Industries*, p. 2.

[66] Consumer's League of Eastern Pennsylvania, 1919-1920; U. S. Dept. of Labor, *Monthly Labor Review*, May 1923, p. 123.

[67] United States Department of Labor, *Women in Mississippi Industries, Bulletin No. 55*, p. 2.

[68] Paradise, Viola I, *Child Labor and the Work of Mothers in Oyster and Shrimp Canning Communities on the Gulf Coast.*—Children's Bureau, *Publication No. 98.*

In a few other lines Negroes have tended to hold their own. Among them may be cited the peanut industry which, like tobacco, is traditionally a Negro occupation engaged in chiefly by women and girls.[71] The reason for this is that Negroes once performed this same work in the fields. In the large peanut factories of Suffolk, Virginia, the center of this industry, Negroes are almost exclusively employed. The work is unattractive to whites because of its long hours, small wages, and unsanitary environment due to the excessive dust from the peanut shells.[72] As a result the Negroes monopolized this industry except in supervisory capacities. The Planters Nut and Chocolate Company, peanut cleaners and shellers of Suffolk, Virginia, reported that they had on their payroll approximately 1,050 Negroes in 1930.

The number of Negro employees in confectioneries and candy factories is still small, for Negroes have virtually entered this field only since 1917.[73] Then Negro women and girls especially were willingly admitted into such factories in a few places both in the North and South.[74] In some of these plants in 1920 Negro women were engaged in hand dipping of chocolates, machine tending, assorting, wrapping, and boxing candies.[75] The Consumers League of Eastern Pennsylvania reported a number of Negro women in choice candy factories with one Negro woman acting in the capacity of forewoman.[76] Negroes are still being employed in confectionery plants, for a Chicago candy factory has recently hired 200 girls, making its first venture with Negro labor.[77]

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[69] Paradise, *op. cit.*, No. 98.

[70] Dowd, *The Negro in American Life*, p. 92.

[71] U. S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, *Negro Women in Industry*, p. 12.

[72] Hours in the peanut industry, according to a report of the Women's Bureau, are very bad. All the employees in the peanut industry were found to be working 10 hours a day and more.—*Negro Women in Industry*, No. 20, p. 18.

[73] U. S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, *Negro Women in Industry*, No. 20, Chapter I.

[74] Consumers League of Eastern Pennsylvania, *Colored Women as Industrial Workers in Philadelphia*, 1919-1920; U. S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, *Women in Mississippi Industries.*

In the South Negro women were also thus employed. They were engaged in candy making in Mississippi.[78] In Suffolk, Virginia, the authors noted that a considerable number of Negro women and girls were used.[79] Other Negroes employed in these factories were mainly laborers such as porters, cleaners, truck drivers, and janitors.[80] In a few places where Negroes are developing candy factories of their own as in some Southern cities like Spartanburg, South Carolina, where Arthur Herndon is doing a thriving business, Negroes are employed in such higher pursuits as those offering opportunities to learn the business.

A small number of Negroes are also employed in dairy establishments and bakeries.[81] Negroes are largely excluded therefrom in the North,[82] but in the South they still constitute a considerable number of these workers.[83] In nearly every community Negro bakers with shops of their own may be found.[84] Many of them operate in connection with well organized catering establishments which are patronized largely by white people.

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[75] U. S. Dept. of Labor, Women's Bureau, *Negro Women in Industry*, No. 20, 1922, p. 34.

[76] In one candy factory there was a Negro forelady over white girls. The latter at first objected until the manager explained that she was the only one who knew all the processes and it was necessary to have some one to teach the others. No trouble was experienced after that."—Consumers League of Eastern Pennsylvania, *Report*, 1919-1920.

[77] *Opportunity*, May 1929, p. 144.

[78] U. S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, *Women in Mississippi Industries*, p. 2.

[79] McKinley, *Report on Negroes of Suffolk, Va.*, 1928; Wesley and Greene, *Report on Negro Churches of Suffolk, Va.*, 1928 (unpublished).

[80] U. S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Occupations*, 1920.

[81] Negro women and girls were satisfactorily employed in a cheese factory in Chicago. Because they were supposed to be slow at their work it was decided to measure their tasks. It was then found that many were doing as well as and some better than white girls in whose places they were working.—*Report of the Chicago Race Commission, The Negro in Chicago*, 1922, p. 385.

[82] The dislike of whites in the North of Negroes handling flour foods in their raw state is accountable for this.

[83] In Western cities like Kansas City, Mo., a few Negro bakers are found.—*Opportunity*, March 1926, p. 94.

In sugar refineries where Negroes had been virtually banned before the War they entered partly in response to the demand for workers, and partly in their traditional rôle of strike breakers. The strike in a large Philadelphia sugar refinery in 1917 illustrates this mode. Negroes were hired to replace the striking foreign laborers who had walked out as a result of the preachments of the Independent Workers of the World. The demand of the men for 30 cents an hour was lost after six weeks.[85] The strike resulted in from 250 to 300 Negroes working in the plant and from 400 to 500 as stevedores.[86] The Franklin Sugar Refinery also had 700 Negroes on its pay roll.[87] The end of the War did not result in the discharge of these workers, for as late as 1927 the large sugar refineries were still hiring Negroes.[88] These workers in the sugar refineries were chiefly engaged in unskilled labor, although a number of them were semi-skilled operators rendering very satisfactory service.[89]

Negroes employed in flour and grist mills, most of whom are unskilled workers, are mainly in the South. Negro millers have decreased in numbers since 1910,[90] which may perhaps be accounted for by the migration of these workers to the North to engage in other pursuits, for Negroes have little participation in this industry in the North except a few as porters and drivers of trucks and wagons.

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[84] Thompson, Holland, *The New South*, p. 136.

[85] "At present this manager has from 250 to 300 Negroes in the plant and from 400 to 500 working as stevedores. On the whole, his experience with Negroes has been satisfactory. They have worked well, even on the docks in winter, though many have been eliminated by illness. A steady group of good workers had been selected. There has been no race trouble on the docks where whites and blacks have worked side by side. In the plant there had been developing a strong undercurrent of prejudice among the foreign workers, particularly the Slavs. There are no skilled Negro workers at the refinery, though some in the warehouse make a high-tonnage wage."—U. S. Department of Labor, *Negro Migration in 1916-17*, p. 136.

[86] *Ibid.*, p. 136.

[87] *Ibid.*, p. 157.

[88] This was observed by one of the authors in the summer of 1927 who, then a student in New York, was offered employment in the sugar factories on the Jersey side of the Hudson.

[89] U. S. Department of Labor, *Negro Migration, 1916-17*, p. 137.

[90] See U. S. Bureau of the Census, *14th Census, Population, Occupations*, Vol. IV, pp. 347, 349.

In such concerns as ice cream factories and bottling works Negroes are rarely used in any other capacity than that of common laborers to do heavy and disagreeable work. Negroes in the manufacturing of spirituous beverages have been decidedly reduced owing to prohibition. In bottling and soda water manufacturing and the making of other soft drinks a larger number of Negroes now find employment than before prohibition. Many of these workers, having once secured work in such plants during the crisis, are still retained in these jobs. Most of these workers are in the South. The number, however, seems to be on the decrease. Four hundred and sixty-three Negroes were employed in bottling and soda works in Georgia in 1924,[91] but this number had fallen to 263 in 1926.[92] In 1928 two bottling works of Baltimore found it convenient to lay off 200,[93] and others elsewhere lost their positions to the extent that few are now thus employed in the North and West.

Negro workers in tobacco factories, however, have almost doubled since 1910.[94] This industry is not new to the Negro. On the contrary, it falls into the category of "Negro jobs" and is traditionally women's work in the South.[95] It is likewise the only industrial occupation in which the unskilled Negro women had secured a foothold prior to the World War.[96] In 1918 there were 8,388 tobacco workers in either the Southern or Border States, nearly 6,000 of these being young, unskilled girls. They worked in various stemmeries where they prepare the tobacco for snuff, chewing, cigars, and cigarettes.[97] In 1921 there were reported 6,531 Negro women in 39 tobacco factories, all of which had employed Negroes before the War.[98] They were virtually all engaged in the rehandling of tobacco.[99] In Tennessee,[100] North Carolina,[101] Kentucky,[102] and other Southern States[103] subsequent surveys found that they were generally employed.[104]

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[91] *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Commerce and Labor of the State of Georgia for the Fiscal Year Ending Dec. 31, 1924*, p. 24.

[92] *Fourteenth and Fifteenth Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Labor of the State of Georgia for the Fiscal Years 1925 and 1926*, p. 29. In a number of cities, especially in the South, Negroes themselves have gone into the bottling business. Few urban centers of that section are without such efforts if the Negro population is considerable. Two such establishments have been operated in Jacksonville and two in Tampa, Florida.

[93] *Afro-American*, Aug. 24, 1929.

[94] U. S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the U. S., 1920*, Vol. IV, *Occupations*, p. 344.

[95] U. S. Dept. of Labor, *Bulletin of Women's Bureau No. 20, Negro Women in Industry*, p. 14.

[96] Bureau of the Census, *Negro Population in the United States, 1790-1915*, pp. 523, 525.

Not only in the South but also in the Border and Northern States the number of Negro tobacco workers increased.[105] In 1921 almost five hundred Negroes were engaged in cigar and tobacco factories in Missouri and almost one-third of them were semi-skilled.[106] In 1924 there were in such plants 275 Negro women who comprised 17.9 per cent of the female employees.[107] A considerable number of Negro cigar workers were employed in New York[108] and New Jersey.[109] As late as 1927 there were 2,500 workers in the tobacco factories of Philadelphia.[110] Various estimates placed the number of Negroes in the tobacco industry at almost 50,000 workers. These constituted about three-fifths of all tobacco factory employees. They increased at the rate of almost 75 per cent after 1910 but decreased somewhat by 1930.[111]

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[97] U. S. Department of Labor, Haynes, *The Negro at Work During the War and Reconstruction*, pp. 125, 127.

[98] U. S. Department of Labor, *Negro Women in Industry, No. 20*, p. 12.

[99] A decidedly sharp line is drawn between the occupations of Negroes and those of white women in the tobacco industry. Negro women were employed exclusively in the rehandling of tobacco; white women were employed exclusively in manufacturing the tobacco after the sorting and preparation of the rehandling process.—U. S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, *Negro Women in Industry*, p. 37.

[100] The second largest number of women were employed in tobacco factories. *Women in Tennessee Industries, Bulletin of the Women's Bureau, No. 58*, p. 40.

[101] *Women in North Carolina Industries, Bulletin of the Women's Bureau No. 42*, 1922; "North Carolina's Recent Progress," in *Review of Reviews*, Dec. 1923, p. 630.

[102] *Women in Kentucky Industries, Bulletin of the Women's Bureau, Bulletin No. 29*, p. 95. Most of the Negro workers in Louisville are in tobacco factories.—*Opportunity*, Feb. 1926, p. 72.

[103] *Norfolk's Thirty-six Per cent; Occupations and General Economic Social Status of the Sixty-four Thousand Colored Citizens of the City of Norfolk, Virginia*, published by the Norfolk *Journal and Guide*, 1927, p. 1.

[104] Consumers League of Eastern Pennsylvania, *Colored Women as Industrial Workers in Philadelphia*, 1919-1920.

[105] U. S. Department of Labor, *Negro Women in Industry*, p. 6; Haynes, *The Negro at Work during the World War and the Reconstruction*, p. 89.

[106] *Biennial Report*, p. 64.

[107] "Women in Missouri Industries" in the *Bulletin of the Women's Bureau*, No. 35, 1924, p. 6.

[108] Consumers League of the City of New York (and others), *A New Day for the Colored Woman Worker.*

[109] *U. S. Department of Labor*, Haynes, *ut supra*, p. 89.

The fact that the Negroes dominate the tobacco industry is easily understood by directing attention to the conditions under which they labor. The Negroes perform the disagreeable, unskilled labor which because of its dusty, dirty, and unsanitary character is distasteful to the whites.[112] Most of the clean, skilled machine work is performed by higher paid white women.[113] Some of the conditions in these factories are deplorable. In many cases Negroes work in dilapidated, filthy, ill ventilated factories which have been abandoned by white employees. These things were brought out in a survey made by the Women's Bureau which reported in detail the undesirable conditions in some of these factories. Said the report in part:

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[110] Report of an investigator on the staff.

[111] For these figures in detail see the United States Census Reports on *Occupations*, 1910 and 1920.

[112] Negro women are doing mostly hand work although a few factories had installed machinery for stemming tobacco. They were separating the compact cases of tobacco as they were brought from the warehouse, picking and separating the good tobacco leaves from the bad as they came by on a huge moving belt. Many Negro women were employed in stemming or stripping the midrib from the tobacco leaf. This process requires considerable dexterity and speed and is one of the most important in the rehandling of tobacco. Negro women were occupied also in tying and twisting the tobacco leaves and in hanging bunches of tobacco leaves on frames preparatory to sending them to the drier. In one establishment they were employed filling bags with tobacco. This last, however, was unusual among the firms visited.—*Negro Women in Industry, loc. cit.*, p. 36. See also Haynes, *Negro at Work during the World War*, etc., p. 125; see *Women in Industries in Missouri, North Carolina, Ohio, Tennessee, Virginia*, etc.

[113] ". . . White women were employed exclusively in manufacturing the tobacco after the sorting and preparation of the rehandling process. . . . White women were operating all kinds of machinery in the manufacture of cigars, cigarettes, and smoking tobacco of all sorts and brands. They were also packing in boxes and labeling cigars and cigarettes for sale and for shipment. For the most part their working conditions and wages were in striking contrast to those of Negro women workers. Their separation and isolation to prevent any contact was apparent in the 16 establishments in which both races were employed."—*Negro Women in Industry*, p. 37. See also Haynes, *ut supra*, p. 127.

> "In tobacco factories conditions were particularly unsatisfactory. Sometimes the fumes were so strong that they were stifling and provoked incessant coughing from persons not accustomed to such conditions. Frequently the women wore handkerchiefs tied over their noses and mouths to prevent inhaling the heavy tobacco dust diffused throughout the room. One manager said new workers often suffered from nausea and loss of appetite, but as soon as they got used to the tobacco they did not mind it. Dust was thick in the air in many of the factories, especially those in which the screener was operated in the general workroom without exhaust systems. In 18 factories these conditions were so bad that ventilating systems to purify the air were needed. A strong contrast was noted in one factory; the dust was taken off by electric fans, while humidifiers and a system of washing the air kept it pure and fresh." [114]

Another factor which made for the preponderance of Negroes in this industry, as in many other cases, was the miserly compensation. In Virginia the wage scale was as low as $4 a week.[115] In Missouri the median wage for Negro tobacco workers reached $7.70 a week while the white workers received $13.20. In Tennessee in 1927 "the earnings of the Negro workers fell very much below those of the white women. . . . In the manufacture of tobacco products other than cigars, the industry which employed the second largest number of women, the median was only $7.60." For white women "the median was as high as $13.20." [116] The same was true of other States visited by investigators.[117]

In addition to the unhealthful conditions under which tobacco workers labor and the small wages they receive the long factory hours also serve to leave this industry more and more to Negro women. Most of these tobacco factory laborers work 55 hours [118] a week in season and even longer.[119] Many of them toil twelve and a half hours a day, even working through the lunch hour. Overtime is necessary in order to augment their meager income, despite the fact that it means not only added neglect of their homes but also imposes a severe physical strain upon them. There is no question that little attention has been directed to the enforcement of statutory regulations of the hours in this industry.

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[114] U. S. Department of Labor, *Negro Women in Industry*, p. 28.

[115] *Ibid.* Contrast with wages in North Carolina where it was reported tobacco workers receive as high as $5.04 a day.—*Review of Reviews*, Dec. 1923, p. 630.

[116] *Women in Tennessee Industries*, Women's Bureau, *Bulletin No. 56*, 1927, pp. 39-40.

[117] See *Bulletins of the Women's Bureau*, Nos. 22, 29, 32, 35, 55, 70.

[118] Out of 85 women interviewed during a study of tobacco employees in Virginia by the Women's Bureau, more than one-half, 49, worked 55 hours

Comparatively few Negroes are engaged in the manufacture of cigars and cigarettes.[120] It is not because Negroes are incapable of performing this work, for during the World War Negro women and girls performed it with satisfaction.[121] So intense, however, was the sentiment against the performance of this work by Negroes that girls with a foreign look and the slightest discernible trace of Negro blood were selected in order that they might be passed off as Spanish or Cubans.[122] After the War most of these employers, as in South Carolina,[123] dismissed their Negro cigar and cigarette employees or assigned them again to unskilled work.

Despite the large number of Negro workers in tobacco factories the consolidation of these plants and the introduction of machinery bringing increased efficiency have served to cut down the number of establishments and also to reduce the number of wage earners; and this, despite the fact that the women have increased the number of users since 1910. About four-fifths of the tobacco factories operating in

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a week; 2 worked 54 hours a week; 32, fifty hours a week; and two, 49 and 44 hours respectively.—*Negro Women in Industry*, p. 55.

[119] In Tennessee out of 550 female tobacco workers the majority of them worked over fifty hours a week and some even worked sixty hours and above.—*Women in Tennessee Industries*, p. 41.

[120] *Ibid.*, 41.

[121] Haynes, *The Negro at Work During the War and Reconstruction*, p. 89.

[122] The 8,388 tobacco workers found chiefly in Southern or border line States were with the exception of two groups working under most objectionable sanitary conditions. Very few Negro girls are found at the more skilled processes such as making cigars. For this work one employment manager insisted upon hiring only pretty types of rather foreign appearance in order that they may be regarded by patrons as Cuban, South American and Spanish.—Haynes, *ut supra*, p. 127.

[123] "Women in South Carolina Industries," *Bulletin of the Women's Bureau, Bulletin No. 32*, p. 84.

1914 have closed since then, and 40,000 less workers are turning out a product of about two and a half times the value of the 1914 output.[124]

In the cotton seed oil mills[125] throughout the South Negroes still remain the chief laborers as they have always been. The disagreeable aspect of this occupation has always made such work repugnant to whites except in supervisory capacities. This is well illustrated by Georgia, which in 1925 had 2,236 employees in 119 plants. Of these 1,802 or 80 per cent were Negroes while only about 20 per cent or 434 were white.[126] In 1927 the disparity was even greater, for out of 2,763 laborers 2,298 were Negroes.[127] Of course, when times are slack whites tend to go more and more into this occupation as was shown in 1923 when the numbers were almost even.[128]

On the whole, however, the Negroes in this field have lost ground on account of the slump in the cotton seed oil industry since 1921. Production was almost 40,000,000 gallons less in 1924[129] than in 1920, and many plants were closed.[130] The ravages of the boll weevil and the general deflation following the World War were likewise instrumental in dealing a severe blow to the cotton oil industry. According to the Report of the Department of Labor of South Carolina for 1925, "The cotton seed oil industry has been hard hit in the past several years and has suffered a greater loss than any other industry in this State. . . . This was a very flourishing industry in 1920 when the value of the annual product was $30,000,000 and the wages paid amounted to $1,678,215. The last few years have been very disastrous ones for the cotton seed oil industry."[131] The situation was apparently even more distressing in Georgia in 1926;[132] for, according to the Report of the Commissioner of Labor, out of the 122 oil mills in Georgia only about half of them were operated in 1925[133] and 1926.[134] Yet these mills which were active must have been operating on a scale more closely approximating their capacity, for the number of Negroes employed in them had almost doubled since 1923.

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[124] In 1914, 13,951 tobacco establishments employing 178,872 persons turned out a product valued at $490,165,000; in 1925 the number of firms had decreased to 2,623 employing 132,132 persons and manufacturing products with a total valuation of $1,091,001,000.—U. S. Bureau, Department of Commerce, *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1926, p. 749.

[125] *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Commerce and Labor of the State of Georgia*, 1923, p. 8; 1929, p. 19; 1925-26, p. 22; *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture, Commerce and Industries of the State of South Carolina*, 1925, p. 22; Long, *The Negroes of Clark County, Georgia, during the Great War*, pp. 38-39; Baltimore *Afro-American*, August 24, 1929.

[126] *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Commerce and Labor of the State of Georgia for the Fiscal Year 1925*, p. 22.

[127] *Fifteenth Annual Report, Georgia Comm. of Labor*, p. 23.

[128] In 1924 the numbers were almost evenly divided, a total of 2,954 employees, including 1,604 Negroes and 1,350 whites—13th Annual Report, *ut supra*, p. 19.

[129] In 1915 the total production of cottonseed oil was 229,260,000 gallons; in 1921, 174,558,000 gallons, and in 1924, 130,616,000 gallons. Thus in 1924 production was little more than one-half of the pre-war product. Despite the decreased output the value to-day is greater because cottonseed oil is worth nearly twice as much as in 1915 when it sold for 35 cents a gallon. The price in 1926 was 68 cents.—*Statistical Abstract of the U. S.*, 1926, p. 667.

[130] Out of 123 oil mills in Georgia only about 60 were in operation in 1924 and about the same number in 1925 and 1926.—See *13th, 14th, and 15th Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Labor of Georgia.*

In like manner the fertilizer industry is still virtually commanded by Negro workers.[135] In Georgia which takes first rank in this industry fertilizer plants employing from 30 to 300 Negroes are found in almost every town.[136] In 1925 there were eight times as many Negroes as whites in these plants.[137] Virtually the same ratio obtained in 1926.[138] In Tidewater, Virginia, the second greatest fertilizer manufacturing and distributing center in the country, 8,000 Negroes overwhelmingly made up the personnel of these factories. Higher wages there than those offered in Georgia, even during the War, no doubt may explain in part the movement of these workers from points farther South.[139] These laborers, moreover, are somewhat migratory. An investigator was told by the manager of one of these plants that most of the Negroes at fertilizer works were recruited from adjacent farms.[140] The seasonal character of the industry together with the unwholesome and disagreeable conditions of the work render fertilizer labor undesirable to the whites. They monopolize the cleaner and year round cotton mill industry, leaving this unattractive task largely in the hands of the Negroes.

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[131] *Seventh Annual Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture, Commerce and Industries of South Carolina*, 1925, pp. 22-23.

[132] *Twelfth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Commerce and Labor of the State of Georgia for the Fiscal Year Ending Dec. 31, 1923*, p. 8.

[133] *Ibid.*, 1925, p. 6.

[134] *Ibid.*, 1927, p. 6.

[135] Baltimore *Afro-American*, Saturday, August 30, 1929; Mitchell, Broadus, "The Negro in the Industrial South" in *Opportunity*, May 1929, p. 150.

[136] U. S. Department of Labor, *Negro Migration in 1916-17*, p. 84.

[137] *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Department of Labor of Georgia*, 1925, p. 21.

[138] *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Department of Labor of Georgia*, 1926, p. 22.

The number of Negroes in the fertilizer industry has declined since 1914 owing to a slump in agriculture which reduced the need for fertilizers. This situation was directly due to the failure of the cotton crop as a result of the ravages of the boll weevil and the general deflation which, as mentioned above, affected other industries.[141] Since the fertilizer industry depended largely upon cotton for the cake or meal left after the oil has been pressed from the cotton seed, the cotton failure naturally meant a loss in fertilizer manufacturing.[142]

Many fertilizer plants closed down[143] with the result that in 1920 there were almost 200 less fertilizer plants in operation throughout the country than in 1914.[144] Some of the large fertilizer producing States were disastrously hit.[145] In Georgia, according to the Commissioner of Labor, of the 163 plants only 60 were in operation in 1924.[146] In South Carolina so uncertain was the fertilizer industry that in 1925 the value of the output was less than half that for 1919.[147] Naturally the decline in this industry struck hardest at the Negro wage earners since they comprised the chief labor supply of these plants. Incidentally there were 7,000 fewer wage earners in fertilizer plants in 1925 than in 1919.[148] Although by 1925 the industry showed signs of recovery, by 1927 a decline was again evident. The number of wage earners had decreased by more than a thousand, and these persons were forced to seek other occupations.[149]

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[139] Baltimore, *Afro-American*, August 24, 1929. The highest wages paid in Georgia during the peak of the employment was from $2.75 to $3.25 a day. —Long, *The Negroes of Clarke County, Georgia, During the Great War*, p. 39.

[140] In a fertilizer plant in Georgia an investigator was informed that "most of the Negro workers were recruited from adjacent farms. They are what are termed 'field hands or field laborers' and most of them when they have completed the work of the busy season at the fertilizer plant go back to the farm."—Long, *ut supra*, p. 38.

[141] *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture, Commerce and Industries of the State of South Carolina*, 1925, p. 23; see 13th, 14th and 15th Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Labor of Georgia, 1924, 1925, 1926, pp. 8, 24, 25, respectively.

[142] *Ibid.*

[143] In 1914 there were 784 fertilizer plants in operation throughout the country. By 1925 the number had decreased to 587.—*Statistical Abstract of the U. S.*, 1926, p. 762.

[144] U. S. Department of Commerce, *Census of Manufactures*, 1927, p. 14.

Negroes likewise perform most of the labor in cotton compresses and gins; but, like all other industries dependent upon cotton, a decline has taken place.[150] Yet the labor force still employed in these plants is made up overwhelmingly of Negroes. This preponderance of Negro labor in

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[145] *Thirteenth Annual Report*, p. 8.

[146] In 1925, 2,527 Negroes were employed in Georgia fertilizer plants; in 1926, 2,552.—14th and 15th Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Labor, 1925-26, pp. 24, 25.

[147] The following table shows the fertilizer industry since the high year of 1919:

	Capital	Value of Products	Wages
1919	$6,120,841	$24,458,214	$2,234,930
1920	7,730,651	20,855,428	2,519,601
1921	7,382,603	14,440,108	1,188,929
1922	6,550,055	8,841,057	718,556
1923	6,318,445	9,954,368	926,292
1924	6,154,320	12,144,949	1,012,378
1925	5,672,767	11,405,906	1,139,195

—*Seventeenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture, Commerce and Industries of the State of South Carolina*, p. 24.

[148]

Fertilizers	Census Year	No. of Establishments	Wage Earners (average number)
	1925	587	19,644
	1923	573	18,572
	1921	588	16,898
	1919	600	26,296

—*Statistical Abstract of the United States*, pp. 762.

[149] In 1927 the number of wage earners in fertilizer factories had dwindled to 18,612; the value of the output had also decreased from $206,773,000 in 1926 to $190,384,896.—*Census of Manufactures*, 1927, p. 14.

[150] The United States Department of Agriculture reports that the ginning industry has declined since 1921.—*Bulletin No. 13*, July 1927, p. 5; see also 13th, 14th and 15th Annual Reports of Department of Labor of Georgia.

such industry is well illustrated by one of the chief cotton ginning States where out of 26 compresses in 1926 virtually four-fifths of the employees were Negroes.[151] This work, moreover, is traditionally linked with the Negro.

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[151] Out of 1,025 employees in 26 compresses in Georgia in 1926 the ratio was about four Negroes to one white worker. The numbers being 805 Negroes and 220 whites. Wages ranged from $40 to $60 a month.—*Fifteenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor of the State of Georgia*, p. 21.

CHAPTER XV

IN VARIOUS LINES

In contrast to the gains as registered by the Negroes in factories black workers in various other lines have suffered a decline since 1910. This is especially true of the brick and tile making industry.[1] That this decrease occurred despite the fact that Negroes predominate in this industry throughout the South [2] and have entered brick and tile manufacturing in increasing numbers in the North since 1919, may be ascribed to the slump in building which followed the World War. The resumption of building construction especially since 1926 enabled the Negroes to retrieve some of their losses in this industry. The large brickmaking plants in New York State [3] and New Jersey hired largely foreigners to serve in this capacity.[4] In some of the plants of the West such as St. Louis, however, it was estimated that "80 per cent of the employees" were Negroes.[5] In Chicago, Negro brickmakers in considerable numbers received thirty-five cents an hour for unskilled work. A few skilled Negroes employed were receiving from $4.75 to $7 a day."[6] A survey in an Ohio city revealed 90 Negroes employed in clay products factories other than brickmaking.[7] In California where Mexicans compete with the Negroes in brickmaking a survey reported that they were the best brickmakers and were given a better scale of wages than the Mexicans.

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[1] Scott, *Negro Migration*, p. 108.

[2] "Brickmaking is the one industry in Virginia in which Negro labor has held first place up to the present time."—Pinchbeck, *The Virginia Negro Artisan and Tradesman*, p. 93. In Georgia so many of the workers in the brick and tile yards are Negroes that the labor statisticians do not report these workers by races."—*12th, 13th 14th and 15th Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Labor for the State of Georgia*, 1923, 1924, 1925 and 1926.

[3] It seems, however, that at that particular time there was a scarcity of labor in those parts.

[4] *Opportunity*, March 1926, p. 93.

[5] Scott, *Negro Migration during the World War*, p. 96.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 109-110.

[7] Women's Bureau, *Women in Ohio Industries*, p. 37.

The decrease in the Negro brickmakers has been partly offset by an advance in the glass making industry in which Negroes increased as a result of the dearth of labor in 1917. During that crisis Negroes were employed by the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company.[8] The Illinois Glass Company also furnished employment to a large number of Negro workers and recently expressed its satisfaction with their work.[9] Even Negro women worked in various glass factories; one plant alone employing 102 in the production of blown glass.[10] Some of these persons are still employed in these plants. In the large St. Louis glass plants, and in Newark, New Jersey, glass factories, Negroes are employed. A survey of the Negroes in Pennsylvania in 1925 reported that a considerable advance has been made in the number of Negroes employed in its glass factories.[11] Such Negro workers now number above 5,000 laborers, more than double the number employed in 1910.[12]

Despite the gains of the Negro in the glass industry there has taken place a change which is causing a reduction in the quota of such workers. This is the rapid mechanization of these factories which has virtually "revolutionized the glass industry since 1919."[13] Instead of hundreds of men blowing glass by mouth most of this is done by machinery which turns out several times the product of the human laborer. The effect of the installation of machinery has been the turning out of a larger and cheaper product with a reduced labor force. Since 1919, therefore, the labor force has decreased by approximately 12,000.[14] Concerning this displacement of human labor by machinery in the glass industry Secretary of Labor Davis pointed out that a single machine—not a single plant—but a single machine, can turn out all the carboys, five gallon containers, that the United States can use. Not long ago hundreds of skilled men were needed to blow these. Naturally the replacement of men by machinery has affected the Negro workers proportionately and minimized the opportunities for skilled labor by reducing this once highly paid employee to little more than a machine tender.[15]

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[8] Epstein, *Negro Migrant in Pittsburgh*, p. 32; U. S. Department of Labor, *Negro Migration*, 1916-17, p. 38.

[9] As a rule the employers of Negroes in industries have found them efficient, although here and there are complaints to the contrary.

[10] Haynes, *The Negro at Work during the War and Reconstruction*, p. 125.

[11] *Negro Survey of Pennsylvania*, p. 18.

[12] The number employed in glass factories in 1910 was 2,243, in 1920, 5,054, an increase of 2,811 or 125.3 per cent.—See table derived from U. S. Census Reports on Occupations.

[13] U. S. Department of Labor, "Productivity of Labor in the Glass Industry" in *Monthly Labor Review*, July 1927.

During this period, too, skilled Negro workers have made but very little progress in the textile industry. From this field in New England and Pennsylvania, Negro workers are actually excluded.[16] Likewise they have made no advancement in the silk industry largely localized in New Jersey with Paterson as its center. What few Negro workers find employment in these plants are chiefly those engaged in drudgery.[17] The case of Philadelphia is typical. A survey reported that Philadelphia ranks first among the textile industries in the United States. In fact, almost "every section of the city has one or more textile mills, but in none of them are Negroes employed in a productive capacity, and only recently in any capacity at all."[18] Another report was to the effect that nowhere within its textile mills can a Negro be found except occasionally as a janitor or maid.[19]

The exclusion of skilled Negro workers from the textile factories of the North has been due to the large number of foreigners in these mills, as already discussed in detail in the development of this topic.[20] In these sections until recently, moreover, the Negro population has been comparatively sparse. It is also contended that these trades are highly specialized vocations necessitating long and careful apprenticeship. It has been said, too, that the Negro does not possess the "quickness of wit and the nimbleness of fingers to allow him to become a profitable worker in the silk trades."[21] Despite the skilled nature of the work there is no doubt that with sufficient training the Negroes would make equally as good textile workers as the foreigners who comprise nearly the entire labor force of these Northern mills. Incidentally the curtailment of immigration may in time have just this effect.

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[14] In 1919 there were 77,520 wage earners in the glass industry.—*Statistical Abstract of the U. S.*, 1926, p. 765; in 1927 the number had fallen to 65,828.—*Census of Manufactures*, 1927, p. 15.

[15] U. S. Department of Labor, "Productivity of Labor in the Glass Industry" in *Monthly Labor Review*, July 1927.

[16] As a rule Negroes cannot serve there even as menials.

[17] Based upon reports of investigators.

[18] *Ibid.*, Feb. 1926, p. 71.

[19] *Negro Survey of Pennsylvania*, p. 20.

In the textile mills of the South where the cotton industry has developed to such an extent that New England mills are finding it almost impossible to compete with them and where an abundance of black labor is available for hard work, the Negro has made very little progress since the World War. In fact, the textile industry of the South is still almost exclusively a white man's occupation and the Negroes who are employed about the plants are doing the heavy and rough work.[22]

The increase as shown in Diagram 18 is largely that of common laborers. The total number of Negroes in the mills of Georgia, in 1924, according to H. M. Shanley, had reached 4,306, of whom 2,828 were draymen and porters and 1,478 women serving as cleaners and scrubbers.[23] In South Carolina a survey by the Women's Bureau found that although Negro women were employed in cotton mills they were engaged "chiefly as scrubbers and cleaners."[24] In 1925, 3,772 Negro workers, 916 of whom were females, were employed in the textile factories of that State, but nearly all of them were common laborers.[25] An investigation of the cotton factories of Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, and North Carolina showed substantially the same conditions.

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[20] There is not much probability of a change of attitude.

[21] *Opportunity*, March 1926, p. 93.

[22] The only chance for Negroes to rise higher will come in time of such a crisis as a strike or a scarcity of labor.

[23] *Thirteenth Annual Report*, 1924, p. 7.

[24] "Women in South Carolina Industries," *Bulletin No. 32*, p. 84.

The exclusion of the Negroes from the ranks of skilled workers in the cotton mills has also been emphasized in several recent reports. An investigator who made a survey to check up on a statement that two cotton mills were entirely manned by Negroes reported, "I found therefore, . . . that he was incorrectly informed on the two mills as they flatly denied they employed any Negroes beyond the picking room and for scrubbing floors."[26] Another investigator who recently made a study of the mills says, "In practice the Negro men are employed only on the heaviest and most dirty manual labor while the women do the cleaning." The men unload the cotton from trucks, unwrap the bales and start the cotton through the cleaning process. When

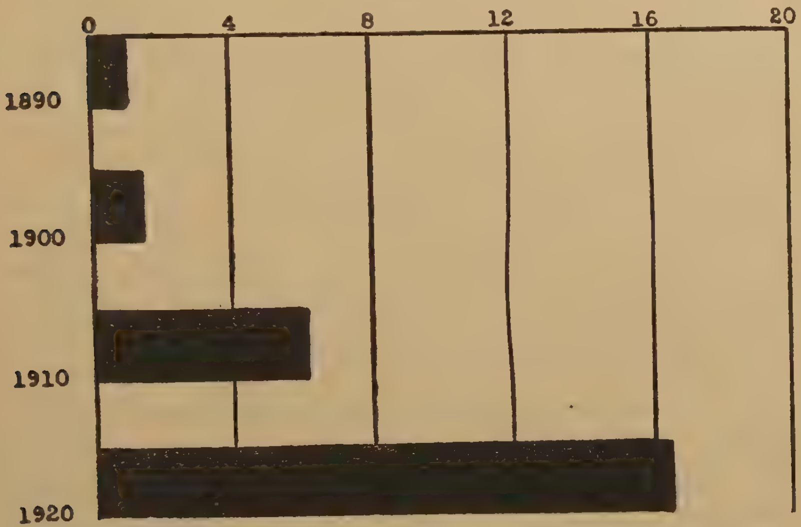

DIAGRAM 18.—INCREASE OF NEGRO WORKERS IN COTTON MILLS, BY THOUSANDS, FROM 1890 TO 1920 (LARGELY COMMON LABORERS).

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[25] *Seventeenth Annual Report*, 1925, p. 31.

[26] Edmonds, Richard Wood, "Labor for Southern Cotton Mills" in *Opportunity*, March 1926, p. 91.

the cloth is completed they sometimes pack it and load it for shipment.''[27]

The reasons for exclusion of the Negroes from the cotton mills need not delay us here repeating the story of race distinction in economic life. In this respect there has been practically no change in the attitude of the antagonistic labor groups. The white workers are determined to preserve this last sphere of industry from Negro infiltration.[28] The Negroes are permitted to farm or perform other heavy labor, but the skilled work of the cotton factory must be designated for whites alone. ''Negroes for heavy labor,'' says the South. ''Negroes for farming, most certainly, yes! But Negroes in the cotton factories, most emphatically, no! That is a white man's job. The Negro is all right in his place, but let him stay in his place.''[29]

In order to keep the Negroes out of these plants the whites have even resorted to violence. ''The feeling of the white workers against any further employment of Negroes in the mills is intense,'' said a writer. ''Two or three times in the history of cotton-mill labor struggles the white workers have become inflamed with rumors concerning the use of Negro strike breakers. Attacks upon the Negro population have followed. In the Macon strike of 1919 two Negro women workers were killed and several others wounded. No mill owners or superintendents would dare to employ Negroes for the regular work now done by whites unless they attempted to operate a mill exclusively by Negro labor. The rule against Negroes and whites working in the same room has the sanctity of the law. In 1921 a mill superintendent of South Carolina was fined $110 'for working employees over sixty hours a week and for allowing members of both races to work in the same room.' ''[30]

The fact that a large number of white women work in the Southern textile factories accounts, then, to a great extent for the small number of Negro employees.[31] Every precaution is taken to prevent mixed groups of workers and has the effect of about making imperative the building of separate mills. Because of this fact, says an author, "The labor force is either all white or all black except that white overseers are always or nearly always employed."[32]

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[27] Blanshard, *Labor in Southern Cotton Mills*, p. 67.
[28] Potwin, *op. cit.*, p. 59.
[29] Blanshard, *op. cit.*, p. 69.
[30] *Ibid.*, p. 68.

It is also still contended that the Negroes are either too shiftless, lazy, or unreliable, or that their psychical makeup is such as to render them inefficient as mill workers. A recent investigator of the textile mills conceded that although Negroes could learn the work and could actually do it, they required "too constant supervision to make good mill employees."[33] Their tendency "to loaf when they are not constantly supervised" is well known especially in the South. Professor Broadus Mitchell while observing that it is commonly said that the Negro is poorly adapted to industrial employment—that he has been bred up to husbandry and cannot fit into an industrial tempo, calls attention to the fact that the same undesirable qualities were ascribed to the poor whites and worse. Yet they with training have proved excellent industrial workers.[34] Paul Blanshard after his survey of the cotton mills in 1927, however, concluded that "the South is fairly convinced that the Negroes will never be successful factory workers."[35]

The theory of the Negro's unfitness for the mills is little more than a shibboleth which gives the whites an irrational basis for their refusal to admit Negroes to the mills.[36] This has already been brought out in the course of this study

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[31] In Georgia, in 1926, out of 59,869 white textile workers 33,322 were males and 26,547 females.—*Commissioner of Labor, etc., for the State of Georgia*, 1926, p. 6.

In South Carolina 42,474 white males and 22,988 white females were employed in 1925.—*Seventeenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor for the State of South Carolina*, 1925, p. 12.

[32] Thompson, *The New South*, p. 126.

[33] Edmonds, *op. cit.*, in *Opportunity*, March 1926, p. 91.

[34] *Opportunity*, March, 1926, p. 91.

[35] Blanshard, *Labor in Southern Cotton Mills*, p. 69.

[36] Negroes have worked in the Saluda cotton mill and the Charleston cotton mill satisfactorily. Even now they are performing all the labor in some spinning and hosiery mills.

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which showed that Negroes from the antebellum days have worked satisfactorily in cotton mills. Latest proof of the fitness of Negro men and women for work in the cotton mills was manifested during the World War when the stress of this emergency reduced some employers to the necessity of importing Negro labor. During this critical period, therefore, Negro men and women not only worked at the unskilled processes in the cotton mills but even upon the skilled operations along with whites in the same rooms.[37]

In Alabama 246 Negro women were working satisfactorily in cotton factories in 1924, some of them at looms and spindles. Some years later it was reported that they averaged less than ten per cent of the workers in these mills in the South and less than five in North Carolina. As a result of the infiltration of Negroes into the mills chiefly as laborers but occasionally as skilled operators, however, the number of black employees in these factories has more than doubled since 1910. There were over 16,000 Negro cotton mill operatives as against 6,000 in 1910. Almost 4,000 of these are skilled or semi-skilled workers.

There has been a substantial increase in Negro workers in knitting mills, hosiery mills, bag factories, yarn mills, and the like since 1910.[38] "In Alabama almost 250 Negroes were found working on knit goods, yarn and cotton goods." In Georgia in 1922 in one plant making knit goods Negro women had actually replaced white women.[39] In 1926, there were in spinning and knitting mills of this State more than four hundred Negroes who no doubt still work on some of the machine processes.[40] The Durham Hosiery mill was entirely run by Negroes with the exception of white foremen and has shown a profit on its investment which despite an alleged high turnover refutes the assertion that Negroes[41] are not efficient mill operatives.[42]

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[37] This situation still obtains at points in the North and West.

[38] *Negro Women in Industry, Bulletin No. 70*, p. 21; Cheyney, *Negro Women in Industry*, p. 37.

[39] Women's Bureau, "Women in Alabama Industries," *Bulletin No. 39*, p. 2.

[40] *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Commission of Labor of Georgia*, 1926, p. 18.

Negroes are also employed in such mills in Virginia. According to the report of the Commissioner of Labor, in 1923 eight knitting mills in the State reported that they had in their service 88 Negro men; ten cotton mills 318; 28 firms engaged in the manufacture of garments 46; 14 silk mills 628; and nine woolen mills only two.[43] In 1928 the authors themselves visited two knitting and hosiery mills in Suffolk, Virginia, where practically all the operators were Negroes, the work of whom, according to the manager, was highly satisfactory.[44]

Even in the North and West Negroes have increased their numbers in knitting and hosiery mills. Negro operators were working in knitting mills in St. Louis in 1924.[45] They had not previously been employed there. 68 Negro girls were also employed in the manufacture of bags in Missouri at that time.[46] In view of the fact that this industry is not an important concern in these sections this employment of Negroes may have little significance.

One of the chief reasons for the increase of Negroes in these mills is that they work at cheaper rates than white laborers, as has been shown in the case of other industries into which Negroes not until recently have been permitted to go. Concerning this difference in the wage scales a report said in 1924, "While Negro women were performing the same operations in different establishments in an industry there was often a wide diversity in the wages paid. There was an even wider difference in the wages of Negro and white women workers who were doing identically the same work in separate and different factories. Only 39 firms were employing Negro and white women without separation and with equal opportunities on any operation, and seven of these firms made a discrimination in the wages paid the two racial groups."[47]

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[41] Blanshard, *op. cit.*, in *The New Republic*, 1927, p. 7.

[42] Dowd, *The Negro in American Life*, p. 94.

[43] *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor for the State of Virginia.*

[44] Wesley, Charles H. and Lorenzo J. Greene, *Negro Churches of Suffolk, Virginia*, 1928 (unpublished manuscript).

[45] This statement is based upon the report of an investigator.

[46] Women's Bureau, "Women in Missouri Industries," *Bulletin No. 35*, 1924.

In Missouri where both Negroes and whites were employed in the manufacture of bags the weekly earnings of the Negroes averaged $8.95 while that of the whites was $12.15 or $3.20 higher.[48] In Alabama the whites received a medium wage of $7.50 a week while the Negroes had to be content with $5.50.[49] In ten plants in Tennessee the weekly Negro wage scale was $8.60 in hosiery mills, $5.75 in bag manufacturing, and $7.60 in cotton goods factories. The corresponding scale for whites was $10.20 for hosiery, $9.75 in bag manufacturing, and $10.80 in cotton goods. In all these mills the whites earned larger returns, about twice the wages of the blacks, the greatest disparity being evident in the bag manufacturing industry, where the difference in pay was $4.00.[50]

The largest difference in wages, however, was found in Georgia. There the median wage for Negro workers was $3.90 while that for whites was $12.28 or about at the ratio of one to three.[51] In one plant especially Negroes had replaced white girls at a lower wage, although the manager stated that the work of the Negro women was more satisfactory. These comparisons bring out in cold figures the merciless exploitation of the Negro workers in these mills because of their economic helplessness.

In the garment trades such as suit factories, shirt, apron, dress, and millinery establishments the Negroes not only have made strides since 1910 but in effect have virtually opened for themselves a new industry. This industry, another peculiarly female occupation, offered opportunities to Negroes as a consequence of the labor shortage already noted.[52] Prior to this time the clothing industry of the country, especially in the North, was almost entirely in the hands of Russian Jews, Poles, and Italians, who contrived to keep the Negro from these shops. Then came the day when any worker was acceptable. There were virtually no Negroes in the garment industry in New York in 1910; but, according to a survey of Negro workers made by the Consumers League in 1918, there were 892 Negro women in several different operations in the garment trades. In Philadelphia a similar survey disclosed a large number of Negroes in garment factories.

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[47] Cheyney, *Negro Women in Industry*, p. 40.

[48] Women's Bureau, "Women in Missouri Industries," *Bulletin No. 35*, 1924, p. 39.

[49] *Ibid.*, "Women in Alabama Industries," *Bulletin No. 34*, 1922, p. 58; *Monthly Labor Review*, Aug., 1924, p. 126.

[50] *Ibid.*, "Women in Tennessee Industries," *Bulletin No. 56*, p. 39.

[51] *Ibid.*, "Women in Georgia Industries," *Bulletin No. 22*, 1922, p. 31.

The increase of Negro workers in the clothing industry since 1910 was first due to the demand for workers because of the evolution of the former white factory operators into high spheres of employment.[53] According to the Department of Labor, the clothing manufacturers were forced by dire necessity to open their doors to Negro workers.[54] These hard pressed establishments, however, were not inviting women in the rough, for many of these workers were already in position to take advantage of such opportunities.[55] In 1910 there were over 38,000 Negro seamstresses who were pursuing their trade at home and performing all the processes of the factory either by hand or machine. Most of the workers, therefore, did not come to the factories inexperienced. As a result, when the opening for these workers came many Negro women and girls simply transferred their work to the factory where their previous training and experience served them well. Numbers of Northern and Southern migrants found employment in this way.

This brings up a very serious question. While the training of these women in domestic art in the South apparently equipped them for skilled work as competitors in the garment industry of the North, so many Negro mechanics migrating to that section found themselves inadequately trained; and, not being able to meet the requirements in the trades, they have been compelled to serve as helpers.[56] Must one conclude that what the women have had the opportunity to learn they have mastered better than the men, or is there a misstatement of the facts or a difference of unionization? [57]

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[52] Haynes, *The Negro at Work during the World War and Reconstruction*, p. 125.

[53] *Monthly Labor Review*, May 1921, p. 121, and Nov. 1924, pp. 130-131; *Survey*, April 23, 1921; *World Outlook*, Oct. 19, 1919, p. 29; Consumers League of Eastern Pennsylvania, *A New Day for the Colored Woman Worker*, *passim*.

[54] Cheyney, *Negro Women in Industry*, p. 34.

[55] *World Outlook, op. cit.*, Oct. 19, 1919, p. 29.

A survey conducted by the newly created Women's Bureau, of the Department of Labor, found in 1918 and 1919 that in 26 men's and women's clothing factories 650 Negro women were employed cutting, draping, hand finishing, and machine sewing. Almost all of them performed machine work.[58] So rapid was the rise of the Negro in clothing factories that they were being taken into the unions, and in 1919 it was reported that the "International Ladies Garment Workers had 6,000 Negro girls in its membership," [59] something unheard of before 1914. These Negroes, chiefly women, worked on all processes skilled and semi-skilled, varying from the most expensive to the coarsest materials, and they were frequently assigned to certain tasks because of their technical knowledge.

Referring to the work performed by these workers, the United States Department of Labor as a result of a survey says, "Negro women were represented in each occupation in the clothing industry, although white women were employed more largely on the skilled and better paid work. The majority of Negro women were employed on the semi-skilled operations, but approximately one-fifth of them were working on more skilled processes such as machine operating. Frequently managers discriminated in favor of Negro women as pressers, because they felt that their work was more satisfactory. The clothing upon which Negro women were working varied from the most expensive to the cheapest, made from the finest and the coarsest materials. They were making ladies' silk, muslin, and cotton dresses; the choicest and poorest lingerie; waists, children's dresses, underwear, hats, men's shirts, trousers, and essentials and accessories of attire of almost every kind."

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[56] Cheyney, *Negro Women in Industry*, p. 34.

[57] A mother and daughter who had formerly been seamstresses in North Carolina came to New York in 1922 to work in a dress factory in 1926. The mother who was a faster operator than the daughter seldom earned less than $50.00 a week and often exceeded that amount. The daughter averaged about $39.00 a week. They worked nine hours a day.

[58] *Ibid.*, p. 125.

[59] "From Kitchen to Factory" in *The World Outlook*, Oct. 1919, p. 29.

Many of these women were dismissed after the War when white women thrown out of other employment were again available for their old jobs. A large number, however, have been retained,[60] and additional Negro workers throughout the country are being employed. In New York in 1925 there were over 3,000 women workers in the garment trades. Others were employed as milliners and novelty makers.[61] There were over 6,000 in 1927.[62] The Chicago survey in 1920 disclosed 203 Negro workers in 9 clothing factories; in another factory Negroes were making hats; in still another they were producing aprons.[63] Their satisfactory service is evidenced by the fact that Negroes are still being admitted to garment factories, for only recently a Chicago clothing factory installed Negro operators. Even as far West as Los Angeles Negroes are continuing to enter this industry, and a skilled operator from New York was recently offered the position of floor lady in a plant employing Mexicans.[64] Recently a large New York clothing firm moved from that city because of labor troubles and established a large factory at Norfolk where they now employ 700 workers, mostly young girls of both races. The wages average from $9.00 to $17.00 a week for nine hours and more work a day.

In some instances, however, Negro operators were given the poorest machines or placed upon new processes which diminished their earning power by retarding their daily output. This has been brought out in virtually all the surveys made of Negro women in industries. "Where there were both new and old machines," said an investigator, "better and poorer sanitary facilities in the same shop, the poorer equipment was, as a matter of course, assigned to colored workers."[65]

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[60] *Survey*, Sept. 27, 1919; Dec. 18, 1920, and April 23, 1921; Haynes, G. E., *op. cit.*, 128; "Women in South Carolina Industries," *Bulletin No. 37*, p. 84.

[61] *Opportunity*, Jan. 1926, p. 8.

[62] *The Survey*, Apr. 15, 1928.

[63] The Chicago Race Commission, *op. cit.*, p. 363.

[64] *Opportunity*, May 1929, p. 144.

Another discriminating practice was the usual wage differential in these factories. Invariably Negro operators worked on a lower scale than the white workers. This was both a virtue and a vice. It was instrumental to a great measure in opening up positions to Negro laborers since some establishments were quick to exploit the cheap Negro workers. An investigator of Eastern Pennsylvania in 1919-1920 reported that in many instances Negro women were discriminated against in wages, although pay ranged from \$7.00 to \$39.00 a week.[66] The cheapness of Negro labor made for discriminating wages where Negro women were started at \$1.00 less than whites simply because of their race, or Negro applicants were offered \$7.00 a week by an establishment declaring an initial wage of \$10.00 in general.[67] One investigator of the staff visited a garment factory in Cleveland employing girls of both races but on different floors. The management made so much discrimination with respect to work and wages that he did not welcome visitors.

Whatever discrimination in wages may have existed they remained sufficiently large to induce Negro women and girls to give up their traditional domestic employment for factory work. The large supply of these available workers, moreover, not only proved instrumental in their making an opening in this industry but also served to keep down the wages of both races. The Negro workers because of their economic weakness and their urgent need of work were powerless to help themselves, and thus became a menace to white workers who feared that in the interest of greater economy, they might be superseded by Negroes.[68] This is not the case, however, where the Negro laborers are unionized and treated as union workers.

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[65] "Negro Women in Industry" in the *Survey*, April 23, 1921, p. 119. See also *Bulletins of the Women's Bureau* as cited above.

[66] *A New Day for the Colored Woman Worker*, 1919-1920; *Monthly Labor Review*, May 1923, p. 123.

[67] Cheyney, Alice S., *Negro Women in Industry*, April 23, 1921, p. 119.

There are now about 74,000 Negroes affiliated with the textile and garment operations. Almost 8,000 of these are serving in such clothing factories as tailors and tailoresses, suit and coat makers, shirt, blouse and smock makers, dressmakers, and hat and cap makers. Those in shirt and cuff factories have almost doubled since 1910, and the Negroes bid fair to increase their numbers still further in these vocations, inasmuch as they are showing themselves reliable and efficient at the various tasks to which they have been called in recent years.

The number of Negroes in the lumbering industry has remained virtually stationary since 1910. This failure of these workers to expand during this period is due largely to the decline in this industry since 1914.[69] The migration of many of these lumber workers to the North,[70] and their consequent going into industry during the World War played no small part in the reduction of these workers, for some lumbering sections of the South such as Mississippi were almost denuded of their Negro laborers. Despite this decline, however, over 100,000 Negroes are still engaged in lumbering and in saw and planing mills throughout the country. Such Negro employees are chiefly in the South where they still perform most of the unskilled and some of the skilled labor of this kind.[71]

Negro longshoremen and stevedores, on the other hand, increased remarkably since 1900. The labor shortage experienced in 1917 caused thousands of Negroes to flock to Northern seaports where for the first time since the influx of foreigners into this field Negroes developed an appreciable strength in this work. Railroad companies like the Baltimore and Ohio, Pennsylvania, and the New York Central brought thousands of Negroes to Philadelphia, New York, Weehawken, Hoboken, and other seaports for work as deck hands and for loading and unloading ships. In New York alone in 1926 there were 6,000 longshoremen;[72] in Philadelphia one firm alone in 1917 had from 400 to 500 Negroes working as stevedores.[73] The management said they worked well on the decks even in winter.

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[68] *Bulletin Women's Bureau U. S. Dept. of Labor, No. 22, 1922*, p. 32.

[69] *Statistical Abstract of the U. S., 1926*, p. 51.

[70] According to the U. S. Dept. of Labor: "In South Mississippi there was a heavy migration of sawmill Negroes from Laurel, Hattiesburg and other stations."—*Negro Migration*, 1916-17, p. 18.

[71] Baltimore *Afro-American*, Aug. 24, 1929; *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Nov. 1928, p. 133; Thompson, *The New South*, pp. 122, 124.

At the Southern ports like Baltimore, Charleston, Norfolk, Pensacola, and Mobile, where the work is divided between whites and blacks, Negroes not only performed a large portion of this task but also organized as unions.[74] In Norfolk, the greatest coal port of the country, most of the coal trimmers and longshoremen, cotton balers, and fertilizer handlers are Negroes. In some places in the South, however, due to the sharp struggle for jobs whites are competing so with Negroes for this work that they are actually driving them out of these occupations. This is particularly applicable to New Orleans, where in 1926 it was reported that the Negro dock workers there had been largely superseded by Italians and Latin Americans.[75]

In the North this is more or less to be expected, for foreigners have consistently endeavored to prevent the Negroes from sharing this work. Poles especially do not like to work with Negroes, and in a Philadelphia plant Negro stevedores were discharged and Poles hired in their places.[76] Despite the opposition against the Negro longshoreman in the North or the competition met with in the South the great strength of the workers is shown by the fact that they comprise the largest organized body of Negro workers. They now number 15,000.[77] The Negroes in these unions, therefore, are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and receive the same wages and enjoy the same privileges allowed the white workers.[78]

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[72] Longshoremen statistics collected by investigators.

[73] U. S. Dept. of Labor, *Negro Migration, 1916-17*, p. 136.

[74] Statement of Millner, an official of Longshoreman's Union, to the National Interracial Conference, Dec. 17, 1928; "Norfolk's 64,000 Colored," published by the *Norfolk Journal and Guide*, 1927; Interview with Mr. Johnson, official of the Longshoreman's Union of Baltimore, April 1928.

[75] The Negro, then, is facing competition on both sides. The Mexicans, however, have not as yet done the Negro laborers as much harm as the whites have.

A large group of Negroes are engaged as common laborers, such as street cleaners, scavengers, laborers in the building trades or workers in public service utilities such as in gas light and electric plants. In such plants as these in the South the Negro laborers far outnumber the whites. Most of these employees, however, are building laborers. Until recently they performed virtually all of the common labor in building trades in the South; but industrial depression and the rush of both whites and blacks to towns have resulted in dividing this work between the two groups. In 1923 there were more white building laborers than Negroes in Virginia. Street cleaners and scavengers at one time in the South, moreover, used to be exclusively Negroes, but that day has passed. The merciless struggle for bread is forcing the whites to appropriate even such lowly labor. Now white men in the South are driving the ash and garbage trucks and wagons while the Negro collects the refuse where formerly the Negroes did it all. A resident of Washington, D. C., for thirty years was shocked to see white men cleaning the streets, this work having been performed heretofore by Negroes. White men dig ditches on the street side by side with Negroes. In the North the Negro has tended to drive the whites out of some of these lowly jobs. Thus Negro street cleaners, scavengers, building laborers, and hod carriers are common in many Northern cities whereas before the War Italians and Irish constituted the chief laborers in such work. The influx of the Negroes has tended to push these former workers up a rung higher in the industrial scale. Negroes now form a large part of the building laborers in the North, and in some places they constitute ''90 per cent of the hod carriers.'' Some of these workers in the North are unionized and are paid according to the union wage scale.

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[76] U. S. Dept. of Labor, *Negro Migration, 1916-17*, p. 137.

[77] Johnson, Charles, "Negro Workers and the Unions," in the *Survey*, April 1928, p. 113.

[78] According to Mr. Millner, a Negro official, of the Longshoreman's Union: "Whites and blacks work together as longshoremen all over the country in harmony. They have three colored vice presidents out of fourteen. There is no difference in pay rates or working conditions. The Hampton Roads Union was admitted to the American Federation of Labor in 1912."—Statement before National Interracial Conference in Washington, D. C., Dec. 18, 1928.

An increasing number of Negroes are also engaged in occupations which have been called into existence by the widespread use of the automobile. Among these employments may be mentioned chauffeurs, truck drivers, taxicab drivers, greasers, washers, and oilers in garages. Many of the chauffeurs are still extensively employed in white families, although the wealthiest families frequently hire white chauffeurs. Negroes only rarely are given work as drivers by white taxicab companies.[79] This is apparent to even the most casual observers in any of the large cities, such as New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Detroit. A few companies, as in New York City, begrudgingly grant Negroes the privilege of serving as taxi drivers, primarily to hold their Negro patronage.[80] To counteract this attitude, Negroes in many cities, however, have organized their own companies, and thus provide employment for taxicab drivers of their own race.[81] The Red Cab System in Washington and the Your Cab Company in Chicago are cases in evidence. Negro truck drivers, on the contrary, are freely employed, but even these workers are being displaced by whites on account of the sharp competition for jobs incident to general unemployment.

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[79] A large taxicab company of Chicago employing 250 colored workers stated that they were not used in such capacities because they lacked education and were shiftless. They were used chiefly as washers, greasers, etc., in the garage.—*Report of the Chicago Race Commission*, p. 376.

[80] The authors knew several Negroes in New York City in 1927 and 1928 who, applying for jobs as taxi drivers in New York and Brooklyn, were told by one manager that they did not hire "niggers." Another kept them coming back and forth for almost two weeks but could never find an opening for them as drivers. Instead, he offered them jobs as washers.

[81] Among such cities are Washington, D. C.; Roanoke, Va.; New York City; Suffolk, Va.; and Winston Salem, N. C.

Negroes find very little opposition, too, in securing jobs as greasers, oilers and washers in garages. Hence, they are freely employed in this capacity both in the North and South. Others find work about gas filling stations. Most of these stations, thus hiring Negroes, are operated by whites, especially in the Southern and Mid-Western towns. In an increasing number of instances, Negroes have become the proprietors of such gas filling stations, and naturally employ members of their own race. The authors have seen instances of this in Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Ohio, Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Illinois and the District of Columbia.

In a few cases also Negroes have been put in charge of gasoline stations by such corporations as the Standard Oil Company.[82] In such positions these persons have demonstrated their ability to increase the business and, therefore, hold these jobs solely on grounds of greater efficiency than their predecessors. A typical instance is reported from Chicago in 1928. There a Negro worked as a greaser at a large station. Business fell off. The Negro asked for a chance to operate the station, confident that he could increase the sales. Given an opportunity, he actually increased the business. The successful operation of this station paved the way for other Negroes in Chicago to secure such jobs, particularly in predominantly Negro districts.[83] Other Negroes are thus employed in several cities of the Border States and the North.[84]

Negro clerical workers connected with these and other enterprises, however, have not rapidly increased. The slower advance among these workers has been due to several factors already set forth at some length in this study. Only under rare instances, can Negroes secure employment in white business houses. On the other hand, Negro business has not been sufficiently developed to give members of this race employment in any considerable numbers. Yet the increase among such workers has come about mainly through the tendency of Negro business to develop in recent years. Agents, real estate and otherwise, have increased with the Negro migration to the North, which afford larger opportunity to buy and sell property to these newcomers from the South. Progressive Negro insurance companies, however, have furnished employment to the largest number of these workers.[85]

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[82] Baltimore *Afro-American*, Aug. 25, 1928.

[83] Related to National Interracial Conference, Dec. 18, 1928, by T. Arnold Hill.

[84] Authors' observations.

During the crisis of 1929 and 1930, however, it has been somewhat encouraging to observe the slow but increasing tendency of white business places to hire Negro clerical workers. The employment of such helpers by white proprietors, however, must not be construed as a voluntary effort on their part to elevate the Negroes in the occupational scale, or even to furnish them work. On the contrary, they have been virtually forced to take Negroes into their stores as clerks, salesmen, bookkeepers, stenographers and the like. This has been achieved mainly by threats of boycotts. A new Negro consciousness, given expression under the leadership of the Negro press, the pulpit, and social uplift agencies, is finally making itself felt.[86] Black citizens in the large cities have been prevailed upon to withdraw their patronage from storekeepers who depend largely, or entirely, upon Negroes for their support, but who at the same time neither deposit money in Negro banks, nor give employment to Negroes except as porters or window cleaners. Negroes have begun to act in this way, and the merchants, struck in a vital spot, have since chosen the only course open to them, namely, to place Negroes in responsible positions.

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[85] For best recent discussion of the Negro in business, see Harmon, Lindsay and Woodson, *The Negro as a Business Man.*

[86] Among such newspapers may be cited *The New York Age, The Amsterdam News, The Norfolk Journal and Guide, The Pittsburgh Courier, The Chicago Defender, The Baltimore Afro-American, Chicago Whip*, and such magazines as *Opportunity* and *The Crisis.* A prominent Negro minister in this respect is Dr. Vernon Johns, now President of the Virginia Theological Seminary at Lynchburg, Va. Among social agencies should be mentioned the National Urban League of New York City.

Evidences of such are now common in many of the large cities of the North and West. In 1925 the Negroes of Harlem (New York City) began agitation for Negro clerks in some of the large chain stores. Two years later, several of these stores in the heart of the black section responded by employing Negro clerks. Other stores have followed this example. In 1926 a large coal company in the same city, already employing one Negro salesman, took on another, in order to hold its Negro customers. Several radio and piano concerns were hiring Negro salesmen in 1927 for work among their own people. Collection agencies are following the same procedure. White real estate agencies, hoping to interest Negroes to buy land in Long Island between 1925 and 1928, were giving employment to several Negro agents.[87] Openings of this sort seem to be increasing, for only recently the Western Union Telegraph Company has not only installed a Negro woman as telegraph operator in its 135th Street office, but has also hired a corps of Negro boys as messengers.[88] It is not difficult now to find Negroes in other positions of this kind.

Outside of New York City the same tendency is seen. A large department store in Newark, New Jersey, employs Negroes as stock girls.[89] In Washington, D. C., several stores in the Negro neighborhood, including plumbing establishments, grocery stores, and the like, employ Negro clerks and stenographers. Theaters and other places of amusement or recreation, owned by whites but patronized wholly by Negroes, have Negro managers in charge. This is common in nearly all large cities of the country, like New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia.

[87] Observations of the authors in New York City and elsewhere.

[88] Baltimore *Afro-American*, Feb. 22, 1930.

[89] Statement of Helen E. Notis of Department of Labor, Newark, N. J.

The greatest progress along this line, however, is shown by Chicago. Throughout the Negro section, therefore, one finds Negro clerks in groceries, meat markets, and clothing stores. Even the large chain stores not only hire Negroes, but with the exception of the manager, all of the workers in one of them are Negroes.[90] Unlike New York, Negroes in Chicago also are employed as salesmen and saleswomen in large department stores. One establishment, alone, hires about 50 as salesmen and the manager is a Negro. Another well known firm which contemplates the erection of a large department store in the Negro district has already signified its intention of hiring Negro clerks.[91]

This tendency of white business places to employ Negroes as clerical workers comes at a very opportune time.[92] The fact that thousands of Negroes have been forced out of domestic service and other employments, especially in the North and West, has created a grave economic problem. While no one could be so sanguine as to hope that white businesses can, or will, absorb this entire labor supply, such a tendency at least is indicative of several things. In the first place, some of these displaced workers are finding employment in higher pursuits; secondly, in such capacities, Negroes are able to secure that business training and experience which is absolutely essential for the successful entrepreneur, the lack of which has caused so many Negro enterprises to fail. But perhaps the most important aspect of the whole movement is reflected in the new racial and labor consciousness of the Negroes. Failure to express their demands and to back them up with the only available weapon possessed by them has long kept the Negro at the foot of the industrial ladder.[93] Now having felt their strength, they have determined that those businesses, largely dependent upon their spending power, shall, in compensation, afford their sons and daughters corresponding opportunities for employment.

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[90] Interview with W. A. Leatham, Negro importer.

[91] Interview with an investigator.

[92] *Crisis*, March 1930, p. 102.

[93] The *Chicago Whip* after surveying the white business in the Negro district served notice upon these proprietors that, unless they gave employment to Negroes, they would be boycotted by these people, using in their campaign the slogan, "Do not spend your money where you cannot work." Clubs, churches, and prominent people were urged to carry out this program in a series of monthly meetings and lectures. The result was a capitulation on

the part of the merchants, and the opening of more than 1,000 clerical positions for Negro workers. Four hundred of these were secured directly through the office of the *Whip*, while 600 were indirectly secured. The same newspaper hopes to make 5,000 such openings for Negroes before the close of 1930.

CHAPTER XVI

ARTISANS AND OTHER WORKERS

THE number of skilled Negro laborers in the various building trades still continued to decline after the World War as they have ever since Emancipation. This has been influenced by different conditions obtaining in the North and in the South. One of the chief causes is that Negro mechanics are leaving the South, and it is difficult for them to secure work at their trades in the North. Sometimes this is the result of the failure of the Negro mechanic to measure up in skill. Thus many a Negro carpenter or bricklayer, who had worked satisfactorily in the South, found his trade without value to him in the North. "A man in the South may be skilled in such an independent trade as shoemaking, tailoring, carpentry and the like," said an investigator, "but in a Northern city, with its highly specialized industrial processes and divisions of labor, he must learn over again what he thought he had mastered or he must abandon his trade entirely and seek employment in unskilled lines."[1]

Some cases of this sort are interesting.[2] A bricklayer from Mississippi, where he had been earning from $5 to $6 a day, could not secure work at his trade in Chicago, and was forced to accept work as a stockyard laborer at $2.50 to $2.75 a day. A West Indian who was an expert carpenter and cabinet maker, unable to secure work at his trade in New York, became an elevator operator. In railroad stations at Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and Toledo, for instance, were interviewed Negro carpenters and bricklayers who were returning home because of their inability to find steady employment at union rates in the North in 1917. A blacksmith who had run the only shop in a Florida town was assistant to the janitor of a Jewish Community Center in New York City in 1926. In still another instance there a Negro who was considered "the best bricklayer on the job" was given "the line," but was promptly removed from his superior position by the business manager of his local who reprimanded the foreman on the ground that it was a white man's job. That same year Southern union Negro bricklayers migrating to St. Louis were immediately reduced to the position of helpers to the white mechanics in keeping with the custom in that city.[3] One of the authors himself later worked with a painter in New York who had come to that city from Richmond during the War and, being unable to join the union, was forced to depend upon odd jobs for a living.[4]

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[1] Scott, *Negro Migration during the World War*, p. 113.

[2] Woofter, T. J., "The Negro and Industrial Peace" in the *Survey*, XLV, p. 421.

From other trades Negro mechanics in the North are still excluded by the opposition of the labor unions even though they come armed with union credentials and are members in good standing in their locals. According to the United States Department of Labor, skilled craftsmen of the building trades especially have had little welcome in the North. The appearance of a Negro carpenter or bricklayer on a job is too often the signal for the whites to discontinue work until the objectionable black laborer is removed. The story is told of a Negro bricklayer in Kansas City who as he ascended the ladder to take his place among his fellow union white bricklayers noticed all of them descending on a parallel ladder to protest against his employment. The Negro consequently did not lay a single brick and all of the white men returned to work.[5] In Philadelphia Negro engineers, members of the American Federation of Labor, were working on a large office building. When the steel workers, also union men, "came on the job they refused to work with Negro hoisters. The Negro engineers were displaced and white men were employed in their places."[6]

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[3] *Opportunity*, February 1926, p. 70.
[4] From observations and experiences, Lorenzo J. Greene.
[5] *Opportunity*, Feb. 1926, p. 39.

This exclusion applies especially to Negro plumbers, electricians, and plasterers.[7] Although there are no specific clauses in the constitution of these unions barring Negroes, various subterfuges are resorted to in order to accomplish the same end.[8] When thirty Negro plasterers of Pittsburgh appealed to the Operative Plasterers and Cement Finishers International Union for a charter after having been refused admission to the white local in Pittsburgh because of their color, the International Union replied that in any city where a local existed no such body could be chartered without consulting the older organization.[9] The local organization sent for the secretary of the Negro plasterers and "gave him five minutes to present his claims." Nothing resulted. The Negroes again appealed to the International with the same result, namely, that the consent of the Pittsburgh local must be obtained. It was later made clear that on account of social barriers the Negroes could not be taken into the white union. They also opposed a separate charter on the ground that the Negroes' initiation fee would not exceed a nominal charter assessment whereas their initiation fee amounted to $30.00, which would be a discrimination in favor of the Negroes. It was claimed also that the local feared that admitting Negroes into the union would tend to flood the city with Southern Negro mechanics.[10] Other

[6] *Ibid.*, Feb. 1926, p. 71.

[7] *Negro Migration*, 1916-17, p. 129.

[8] *Opportunity*, Feb. 1926, p. 39.

[9] Epstein, *The Negro Migrant in Pittsburgh*, p. 42.

[10] "This illustration of the difficulty confronting the colored person when he desires to join a Union, is interesting: 'Two colored migrants, J. D. and C. S., painters from Georgia, had applied to the Union for membership in November and December 1916, respectively. Both of these persons have their families here, and claim fourteen and sixteen years' experience in the trade, stating also that they can do as good a job as any other union man. Each one of these claims to have made from $25 to $30 a week in the South by contracting. The official in the office of the Union whom they approached to ask for membership unceremoniously told them that it would take no colored men into membership. The result was that one of these men was fortunate enough to find work in his own line in a non-union shop, receiving

Negroes when applying for admission to labor unions were bluntly told that they were not acceptable.

As a union man, too, the Negro mechanic often became the object of discrimination by both the employer and his fellow workmen, whereas as a non-union worker he did find an ally in the employer even though such interest was selfish. The Negro frequently found that once he became a union man demanding the union wages, the employer promptly discriminated in favor of the white worker.[11] Where Negroes were allowed to work, employers usually took care of the white workers first.[12]

So well did Negro artisans realize that their desirability as employees depended upon accepting a lower wage scale than that of white workers, that Negro plasterers in applying for a charter in Pittsburgh set their wages at $4.50 a day or $1.50 less than the union wage scale of $6.00.[13] Obviously, since the white union could not permit its members to be underworked, it refused the petition; but it became at once manifest that Negroes were underbiddding them, because, although desirous of enjoying the advantages of collective bargaining, they realized that their labor became less attractive to their prospective employer when their wage scale was the same as that of white union laborers.[14]

Where little or no prejudice is displayed by the employer against hiring Negro artisans, it is often the unions which, having accepted Negroes primarily for the sake of protecting themselves, actually force them out of jobs. "When skilled Negro workers in independent crafts outside fac-

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twenty dollars a week for eight and one-half hours, as compared with $5.50 for an eight hour day, the union scale. The second man, however, was not so fortunate, and unable to find work in his own line, he is now working as a common laborer in a steel plant making $2.70 for ten hours a day. Many of the colored skilled people do not attempt to join the union because they know the existing situation is obvious. The brother-in-law of one of the men mentioned above, also a skilled worker, when asked why he did not try to join the Union, characteristically shrugged his shoulders and uttered the fatalistic 'What's the use?' "—Epstein, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

[11] *Survey*, April 15, 1928, p. 114.

[12] Nearing, *Black America*, p. 106.

[13] Epstein, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

[14] "The Negro in Labor Unions" in the *Survey*, April 15, 1928, p. 114.

tories place themselves under union jurisdiction and cease bargaining individually, all other white workers are given preference over them both by employers and officials who have the assignment of jobs. If the Negro works for other than union rates, in order to work at all, he is subject to a fine or suspension."[15]

Numerous examples of this may be cited. An investigator in a large Eastern city interviewed a bricklayer who had been idle nearly a year while his white fellows enjoyed what work there was. Although he was offered various non-union jobs, so strong was his attachment to his craft that he refused them all. Finally, after vainly hoping for work and exhausting his savings in meeting household expenses and those incurred by his wife's illness, he accepted work with a non-union contractor. A union delegate, passing by, promptly ordered him from the job, haled him before the union and fined him $150.00.[16]

A plasterer who had made an unsuccessful attempt to secure a charter for this fellow workmen, when asked why he did not join the union, replied that he was aware that the union, even were he a member, would not supply him with a job and that white union men would walk out were he by any chance to be employed.[17] In Kansas City Negroes in trades such as plumbing, electricity and printing are denied an opportunity to work.[18] In New Jersey it is impossible for a Negro to become a licensed plumber or steam fitter.[19]

Negro bricklayers, carpenters, and plasterers have suffered especially from this inequality of opportunity.[20] In these particular fields the competition is often keener than in other lines. There are more bricklayers, carpenters, and plasterers than other mechanics of this race migrating from the South to the North. Southern Negroes have had more opportunity to learn these trades than to develop other mechanical skill.[21] Knowing that Negro mechanics are frequently encountered in these spheres, the agents of race distinction in economic life have been zealous in working out provisions and devising subterfuges to eliminate these new competitors. The observations of students of present-day conditions show that these efforts in most industrial centers have been crowned with success.[22]

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[15] *Annals*, Nov. 1928, p. 135.

[16] This incident was told one of the authors by the man's daughter.

[17] Epstein, *The Negro Migrant in Pittsburgh*, p. 42.

[18] *Opportunity*, Feb. 1926, p. 93.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 93.

[20] U. S. Dept. of Labor, *Negro Migration, 1916-17*, p. 24.

Despite all the obstacles which confront Northern Negro mechanics, there are actually more carpenters, bricklayers and plasterers at work in the North now than before the War. They have come in during recent years, however, as a result of labor shortage and represent not an increase in Negro skilled workers per se but merely a transplantation of such labor from the South to the North. In St. Louis there are about 2,000 building trades workers who are unorganized, but yet are able to make as much as they would in the South even though they receive non-union wages.[23] In New Jersey it is reported that the greatest industrial advance made by the Negroes is in the building trades.[24] They are admitted to some of the unions. One of the largest contractors of northern New Jersey is a Negro. During several trips to this town in 1927 one of the authors observed in process of construction three or four houses upon which all the bricklayers, carpenters, plasterers and lathers were Negroes. In Philadelphia not only are there Negro contractors who give employment to their own race but who also hire artisans of both races.[25] In St. Paul Negro bricklayers and stone masons imported from the

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[21] *Opportunity*, Feb. 1926, p. 70.

[22] *Ibid.*, Feb. 1926, p. 69.

[23] Statement based upon recent observations in St. Louis.

[24] "The most decided industrial advance made by Negroes in New Jersey is in the building trades. In several towns there are building trades unions—hod carriers—whose membership is almost wholly Negro. They are connected with the Internationals. Their delegate sits in on the Building Trades Council. Negroes also join very freely the other building trades as brick masons, carpenters, etc. Although they join, discriminations are often very apparent."—*Opportunity*, March 1926, pp. 8, 93.

[25] "There are in Philadelphia two or three Negro contractors who are among the largest in their lines in the city.—*Opportunity*, February 1926, pp. 4, 71.

South worked on the construction of the beautiful Capitol building.[26] Even as far West as Denver, Colorado,[27] and Los Angeles, California,[28] there has been an increase in the number of Negroes in the building trades. Most of these are carpenters, bricklayers and plasterers. The electrical trade, plumbing and gas and steam fitting have very few Negroes because of the opposition of the white unions, and too few Negroes work at these occupations to compel recognition.[29]

In the South where the large majority of Negro building workers are found they have continued to yield their ground. The causes for the decline in the number of Southern Negro mechanics are identical with those undermining their hold on these trades before the Great War:—the inability of many of them to adjust themselves to the industrial tempo demanded by a rapidly advancing South, and the rising class consciousness of the poor whites.[30] In the older vocations such as carpentry and bricklaying where the Negroes, though losing, were still strongly entrenched, this new labor consciousness of the whites manifested itself in ineffectual petitions to city councils and legislatures to try to drive the Negro from the trades by force of law. In Nashville, Tennessee, recently the white bricklayers actually petitioned against the teaching of trades to Negroes in the schools.[31] Other agencies have frequently memorialized legislative bodies to bar Negroes from the trades, and the thing has been actually attempted in Georgia and South

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[26] *Opportunity*, March 1926, p. 93.

[27] *The Negro Population of Denver, Colorado*, etc., 1924, p. 11.

[28] Here again, however, scarcity of labor or strikes made the employment of the Negro possible.

[29] *Survey*, April 15, 1928, p. 114; *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Nov. 1928, p. 135.

[30] According to a Negro plumber from South Carolina, he was unable to receive a license as plumber but secured work as a plumber's helper. The white contractor would send him on a job which he would execute not as a plumber but as a helper with helper's wages. Another former plumber now in Washington working as a cement finisher told the author that he has actually taught white men some of the arts of the plumbing trade while he himself was listed as their helper.—Interview, Sept. 16, 1929.

[31] Industrial education, then, has now become a thing regarded as too good for the Negro.

Carolina. Unfortunately, too, where there is no law public opinion often has the desired effect.

In Jacksonville, Florida, an attempt was made to bar Negro artisans from working in predominantly white neighborhoods with like restrictions for white mechanics just as it had already been done in Miami, where the two races are rigidly segregated into quarters provided by law as "white town" and "black town."[32] Such an ordinance, too, was already in force in Palm Beach, Florida. The system in that State, however, can be made elastic where economic interests of the whites are at stake. When the Seaboard Air Line Railroad recently ran a branch from Tampa to West Palm Beach, which came into the city on the Negroes' side, it was brought to the attention of the city council that, according to the ordinance, the station would have to be built by Negro mechanics inasmuch as the races were restricted by law to respective zones. A special meeting of the council was immediately called and the imaginary zone line was changed so as to make it possible for white mechanics to construct this building.

Other manifestations of this white labor consciousness operating to prevent the employment of Negro artisans came from the various States. In South Carolina recently a committee of white women protested against the use of a colored contractor in the erection of a laundry building.[33] Only the firmness of the owner prevented the loss of the contract to the Negro. In the same State failure to sanction the working of white building laborers on a Negro school caused the resignation of directors of a Board of Trade. In Kentucky an attempt was also made to bar Negro masons from working with whites on a building being erected for the State University. Thanks to the firm stand of the contractor, however, the unfair demand of the white masons was denied.[34]

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[32] "Within the past two years efforts have been made in Georgia and South Carolina to bar by legislation Negroes from certain trades."—Johnson, Charles S., "The Changing Economic Status of the Negro" in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Nov. 1928, p. 136.

[33] A report of one of the investigators in the field.

The increasing organization of the whites has also tended to minimize the chances of employment for Negro mechanics. By collective bargaining the whites have made skilled labor so attractive through increased wages that the competition with the Negroes for this work has not only become excessively keen but in many cases has also resulted in forcing the Negro out of employment. The unionizing of these trades has not only eliminated Negro mechanics by gradually driving them from these spheres, but has also deprived their children of the opportunity of rising through apprenticeship.[35]

The increasing tendency of Negro youth away from apprenticeship to the trades is evident by a decrease in the numbers engaged in mechanic arts. Negro mechanics and artisans are not yet training their sons to succeed them; and there would be little reason for so doing if they are to be excluded by trades unions.[36] In these fields, as shown by a comparison of the Census Reports of 1910 and 1920, the number of apprentices has actually declined from almost ten per cent in case of the blacksmith to more than 25 per cent in the case of apprentices to brick and stone masons.[37] This is a very alarming condition especially since the white artisans are putting forth strenuous efforts to dislodge the Negroes from these fields. The large advance in machinist apprentices is no doubt the result of an error in cataloguing such persons, most of them being machine tenders. The increase in apprentices to the electrical and plumbing trades is encouraging in view of the solid opposition met by the Negroes in these vocations. The comparative increases or decreases of Negro apprentices in the building and hand trades between 1910 and 1920 are shown in the accompanying table:

[34] Baltimore *Afro-American*, July 27, 1929.

[35] Pinchbeck, *The Virginia Negro Artisan and Tradesman*, p. 77.

[36] This has been a matter of common observation among thinking Negroes for some years, but they have not as yet discovered an effective remedy.

[37] *Fourteenth Census of U. S., ut supra*, p. 34 (4 note).

TABLE 45.—NEGRO APPRENTICES TO THE BUILDING TRADES, 1910-1920

Trade	Year		Increase or Decrease ‡		
			Number		Per Cent
	1910	1920	Increase	Decrease	
Blacksmiths	178	161		17	— 9.5
Boilermakers		22	22		
Cabinetmakers		19	19		
Carpenters	255 *	198		57	—22.3
Coopers		61	61		
Electricians	8	69	61		762.5
Machinists		284 †	284		
Masons	171	127		44	—25.7
Painters, glaziers and varnishers	68	80	12		17.6
Paperhangers	15	9		6	—40
Plasterers	82	82			
Plumbers	71	83	12		16.9
Roofers and slaters	6	20	14		233.3
Tinsmiths and coppersmiths		52	52		

* Includes one female.
† Most of these no doubt are machine tenders.
‡ A minus (—) sign denotes decrease.

A comparative statement of the wages of these workers in Virginia may facilitate the understanding of their situation. It has been found that during a period of 23 years from 1900 to 1923 Negro carpenters have received an average of $1.10 less a day than white carpenters. During the height of the war period in 1917 white carpenters received $4.60 a day while Negro carpenters had to be satisfied with $3.50 or $1.01 less. Four hundred and twenty-two firms employing white and black carpenters in 1923 paid their white workers $5.82 and the Negroes $3.49, the whites receiving at most 67 per cent more a day than the Negroes. The same disparity obtained in the case of Negro bricklayers and plasterers. During the 23 year span the average daily pay for the Negro bricklayer was $4.06; for the white bricklayer $5.23 or $1.17 more a day. In 1923 the difference in wages was more pronounced than the average differential, for the whites received $10.14 a day as compared to $8.75 for the Negroes or $1.39 less. For lathers and plasterers, in which trades the Negroes outnumbered the whites and thus set the pay rate to a large extent, wages tended to approximate equality.[38] In 1923 white and black plasterers worked on the same wage scale, $8.26 a day, but during the span of a fifth of a century the average wage was in favor of the white plasterers who received $4.10 to $3.42 for the Negroes. Negro lathers still receive a few cents less than white lathers:—about 40 cents less a day now, $5.79 for whites and $5.39 for Negroes, while the wage differential for 23 years was almost the same, 45 cents in favor of the whites.[39]

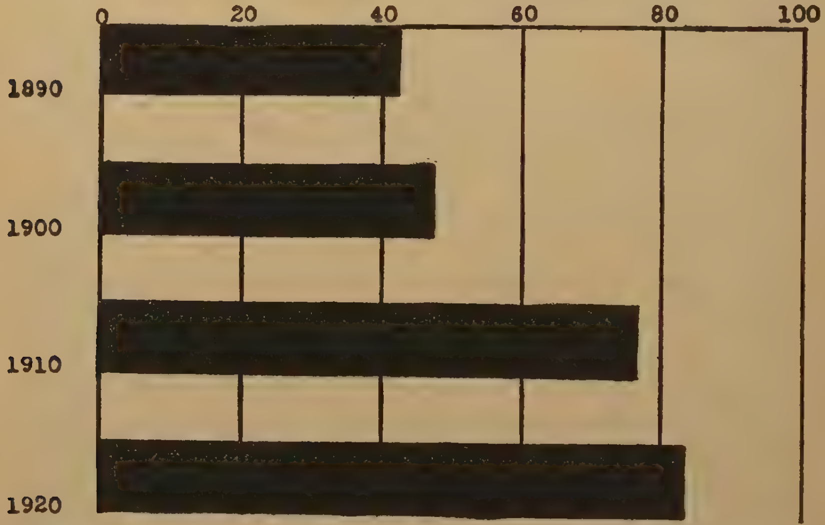

DIAGRAM 19.—INCREASE OF NEGRO WORKERS IN THE BUILDING TRADES, BY THOUSANDS, FROM 1890 TO 1920.

For these reasons, then, the number of Negro skilled building laborers has declined, either relatively or actually, since 1910. Not only has this decrease been alluded to by competent observers, but it is disclosed, moreover, by a comparison of the Census Reports for 1910 and 1920. Carpenters and joiners, who comprise about one-half of all the skilled Negro laborers in the building trades, increased their number by less than 3,000 between 1910 and 1920, whereas during the preceding decade they had advanced by almost one-half. In 1920 there were 34,243 carpenters, but the number now in view of the unemployment wave which has periodically gripped the country since 1919 is no doubt much less than that. The plasterers who in some States still outnumber the whites barely held their own during this period, increasing from 6,783 to 7,082. Plumbers, gas and steam fitters also retained with difficulty their gains made in the preceding decade owing to the increasing restrictions under which they work. The small gain of a few plumbers and gas and steam fitters was offset by a much larger loss of the roofers and slaters. The largest decline, however, was evidenced in the case of Negro brick and stone masons. On account of conditions obtaining these workers between 1910 and 1920 have decreased by 1,407. From 12,016 in 1910 they numbered but 10,609 in 1920 and have been decreasing since that time. In other words, Negro stone and brick masons have lost about one-eighth of their numbers since 1910.

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[38] Facts as to these differences of wages may be obtained from almost any employer. They are not ashamed of making this distinction.

[39] See *The Virginia Negro Artisan*, p. 104, for conveniently prepared table.

The decline of the Negro mechanics and artisans along with the large influx of Negroes into industry since 1910 naturally suggests the question as to what type of work these newcomers are performing. In the main the Negroes have entered industry on the lowest rung of the industrial ladder. They have begun at the bottom. About 90 or 95 per cent of them are thus engaged in unskilled labor. They were untrained and in the rough; others had preëmpted the field. Being newcomers, they had to take what others did not want. They perform chiefly the dirty, arduous, hot, muscular labor about the blast furnaces and iron and steel mills and foundries or labor amid the noisome odors of the factories.[40] The white workers, moreover, quickly manifested their aversion to the performance of anything but unskilled labor by Negroes. In some cases they not only refused to work with Negroes but cursed them and even drove them out of the plants.[41]

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[40] United States Bureau of Labor, *Monthly Labor Review*, July 1924, p. 43.

In other instances the opposition of officials and foremen to advancing Negroes to skilled labor kept in the unskilled ranks many of those who under sympathetic direction could have performed the more skilled processes. In a large Chicago food-products concern in 1922, "although Negroes had reached the maximum wage of 61 cents an hour a few months after their induction into the plant, no further advancement could be made because the superintendent was not willing to elevate them to higher position workers."[42] A Negro starch mixer in another Chicago plant, looked upon with disfavor by the foreman, was ordered to teach his trade to a Polish workman. A Negro molder in a Buffalo foundry, according to a survey of that city in 1927, was reduced to a helper and later discharged when he made a complaint.[43] A Negro in the same city, rendering satisfactory service as a stone cutter, was reduced by the superintendent who, seeing this Negro mechanic while on a tour of the shop, told the foreman to put him on another job.[44]

In other instances the refusal to permit Negroes to perform skilled labor lay in the conviction of the foreman and the management that the Negro was incompetent to do other than the meanest muscular work. With these preconceived notions concerning the industrial potentialities of Negro workers, superintendents and owners declined to give them an opportunity to show what they could do, but placed them all indiscriminately upon unskilled work.[45] Sometimes these cherished ideas were rudely shattered by the mechanical skill exhibited by these Negroes when given an opportunity at the higher grades of work, thus to pave the way for others who were later given this better opportunity.

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[41] Epstein, *ut supra*, p. 32; U. S. Dept. of Labor, *Negro Migration, 1916-17*, p. 126; *Report of the Chicago Commission on Race Relations*, p. 394.

[42] *Report of the Chicago Commission on Race Relations*, p. 366.

[43] Carpenter, *Nationality, Color and Economic Opportunity in the City of Buffalo*, p. 117.

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

[45] Epstein, *op. cit.*, p. 32; U. S. Department of Labor, *Negro Migration, 1916-17*, p. 126.

A striking example of such is reported by a superintendent of a large foundry, who said to a writer in 1924, "The foreman told me that we could never get colored men to grind, because they were afraid of the wheel; we discovered it was not so at all; one of the best grinders we now have is a colored man."[46]

In Philadelphia where colored workers recently were hired as common laborers at a large ship yard, a strike of white riveters prompted one of the Negro laborers to ask permission to organize a gang of riveters from the Negro employees. The request was refused, the superintendent evidently fearing that the Negro could not make good his boast. Finally he consented, and the Negro, who himself was a riveter reduced to the position of a laborer, soon organized a crew of Negro riveters who worked so efficiently that they were retained after the striking whites returned. Incidentally most of these Negro laborers had been riveters either at the Hog Island, Baltimore, Norfolk, or Newport News ship yards during the World War and actually had been engaged in shipbuilding.[47]

Despite these obstacles, however, more Negroes are performing skilled and semi-skilled labor in factories to-day than ever before. The largest opportunities for skilled employment in factories are found in the iron and steel foundries with its associated manufactures such as automobile and shipbuilding plants. In industrial plants of these kinds Negroes are employed in such skilled and semi-skilled capacities as furnace men, grinders, molders, coremakers, chippers, welders, craters, cupola tenders, japanners, shakeout men, oven tenders, and machine hands.[48] Many plants too have reported Negro skilled workers rendering satisfactory service.[49]

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[46] Hartt, in *World's Work*, June 1924, p. 186.

[47] According to A. L. Manley of the Armstrong Association of Philadelphia in 1926: "There have occurred one or two labor disputes in recent years from which the Negro has greatly benefited although not a participant in the strike nor a conscious strikebreaker. In a large shipyard where a few Negroes were employed as laborers the riveting gang struck. The striking riveters automatically threw everybody else out of employment. One of the Negro laborers told the foreman that he was a riveter and asked permission to organize the Negro laborers into riveting gangs and take over the job. After trying to settle the dispute with the white riveters the management decided to try out the Negro gangs. It was soon discovered that almost every Negro who was working as a laborer was an experienced shipyard worker, some from Hog Island, some from Norfolk, some from Baltimore and others from Newport News, and for the first time in a hundred years Negroes were employed in this plant actually building ships. It wasn't long before the white workers were willing to come back, a condition being that the Negroes would be discharged. The management refused to discharge the Negro shipworkers and they are there yet. Writing to us recently the manager said: "We find the colored men in our employ equal in every way to any others. We do not know how many we employ as we make no distinction in employment because of race, creed, or nationality."—*Opportunity*, February 1926, p. 71.

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[48] Haynes, *The Negro at Work during the World War and the Reconstruction*, p. 45; U. S. Dept. of Labor, *Negro Migration, 1916-17*, p. 127; Epstein, *ut supra*, pp. 31-32.

[49] In the Park Mill of the Crucible Steel Company at Pittsburgh in 1917 almost one hundred of the 500 Negro employees were engaged on skilled processes. Some foremen were also included. A report from a large St. Louis foundry in 1921 showed that "of the cupola and pitting men 52 per cent are colored, of the pitting men 100 per cent are colored. Forty per cent of the coremakers are Negroes." Wages for the same work were equal for both colored and white. In 1926 another survey found 3,325 Negroes employed in 22 plants of whom 1,032 or more than one-third were skilled laborers. In Cleveland a survey in 1924 reported that in 12 out of 13 plants studied Negroes were advanced to any grade of skilled labor which they were capable of performing. The sole exception was a foundry where the whites refused to work with them. One of these corporations, the National Malleable Casting Company, had employed Negroes in its nine plants for several years as molders, coremakers, chippers, locomotive crane operators, melting furnace operators, general foremen, foremen as clerks and timekeepers. It was stated by the manager moreover that the Negro could perform any work well under the proper supervision. The Scullin Steel Company of St. Louis in 1920 reported through its Vice-President, Mr. V. C. Turner, that 50 per cent of its force were Negroes who performed such work as railroad firemen, engineers, switchmen, molders, cranemen, coremakers and chippers. A large iron foundry in Indianapolis engaged Negroes as coremakers. In Detroit where Negroes were freely used as skilled laborers calls were sent out in 1916 for 336 torchers, 160 molders, 109 machinists, 45 coremakers and other skilled and semi-skilled workers. The Buckeye Steel Company in Columbus, Ohio, also employs Negroes in skilled as well as unskilled positions. In the Pittsburgh district so favorable were chances for advancement in the iron and steel industry that a statewide survey in 1927 reported that "in Pittsburgh a Negro might begin in the steel industry as the least skilled laborer in a foundry and eventually become as high paid an employee as any workman on the plant."—*Negro Survey of Pennsylvania*, p. 20. See also *Semi-Annual Report of the Negro Industrial Commission of Missouri*, 1921, p. 14; *The Negro in Cleveland Industries* in U. S. Department of Labor Monthly *Review*, July 1924, p. 44; *Opportunity*, January 1923, pp. 20-22; February 1926, p. 71; March 1926, p. 90; Scott, *Migration*, p. 129.

"In twenty-two plants, 3,335 Negroes are employed, 1,032 are skilled laborers and 2,303 unskilled. Of the twenty-two plants employing Negro labor nine of them use no Negroes as skilled laborers. Twenty of the twenty-two reported that Negroes report regularly for work; two to the contrary. Eighteen stated that they had not experienced an unusual turnover with Negro labor. Those who reported an unusual turnover stated that the contributing causes for such conditions were: lower living conditions among Negroes; lack of sense of responsibility; laziness and refusing to do as they

The comparatively larger number of Negroes working at skilled positions in iron and steel factories and foundries may be accounted for by the previous training which the Negro gained before the War in the Southern iron and steel factories. It has already been pointed out that before that conflict many of the molders, casters, crane men, coremakers, and other skilled workers in Alabama, Tennessee, Georgia, and Virginia factories were Negroes.[50] Naturally when the call for such workers came during the upheaval many of these workers entered Northern industry already trained for such work. Some factories, especially in Pittsburgh, made deliberate efforts to secure Negroes from Birmingham and other centers of the iron and steel industry of the South.[51]

Experience in another line was also of service to Negro workers. Mention has already been made of increase in the number of the Negro skilled laborers in shipbuilding plants drawing upon those who had served elsewhere. These workers during the War had about 20.7 per cent of the total number of about 24,648 engaged in skilled operations. They were drillers, reamers, calkers, carpenters, riveters, bolters, and chippers. After the War when the demand for such workers was greatly reduced, the efficient work of these black artisans was reflected by the retention of a proportionately larger number of skilled rather than of unskilled laborers. After the War 3,872 Negro skilled workers, or 27 per cent of the entire personnel, fell under the category of skilled laborers, as compared to 20.7 per cent during the War.[52] Most of these found employment in Southern ship-

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are told; and dissatisfaction with their earning capacity. Nine employers stated that Negroes gave evidence of saving, seven could make no definite statement and six stated that Negroes in their employ gave no evidence of thrift. Twenty-one of twenty-two employers reported that Negroes were giving a reasonable degree of satisfaction. Only two plants studied had welfare workers, one other has a white welfare worker dealing with Negroes. The remaining plants had no workers for Negroes. Two of twenty-two reported Negroes gambling in the plant.—*Opportunity*, March, 1926, p. 93.

[50] See Chapter IX.

[51] Epstein, *op. cit.*, p. 72; U. S. Dept. of Labor, Haynes, *The Negro at Work during the World War and the Reconstruction.*

[52] U. S. Dept. of Labor, Haynes, *The Negro at Work during the World War and the Reconstruction*, p. 58.

yards such as Newport News, Norfolk, and Portsmouth, Virginia, and Wilmington, North Carolina. At the Navy Yard at Newport News, many of the 3,500 are Negroes, a number of whom hold skilled positions.[53] The Newport News Shipbuilding Company not only has long employed Negro carpenters, calkers, riveters, and other skilled workers, but this corporation even trains Negro mechanics.[54] This firm reported 2,434 Negroes in its employ in 1930. In the Northern shipyards a few Negroes are employed in the skilled fields such as riveters and the like, but their induction is effected largely through the rôle of strike breakers.[55]

In automobile factories skilled Negro laborers in Detroit have figured conspicuously. Negroes work as coremakers, truckers, molders, machinists, forgemen, hammermen, casters, ruffers, assembly men, pipe layers, tool makers, and riveters. These men were found efficient, on the whole, for the president of the Packard Motor Company said, "We have found that the Negro, both in skilled and semi-skilled labor, is a good worker, considerably better than the European immigrant."[56] Most of the skilled labor performed by the Negroes in automobile plants is in the foundries, work with which they were not wholly lacking in experience.[57]

In many other fields the same condition obtains.[58] In the meat products industry most of the work performed by Negroes is unskilled, but a larger number than formerly are now being used in skilled capacities and the employers report increasing efficiency.[59] In coal mines Negroes are employed in almost every capacity from tripper to manager, and they are gaining ground.[60] In the garment trades there is no branch of the industry from the meanest to the most delicate upon which the Negro women are not engaged. They still face the difficulties made by their white co-workers and managers in favor of the other race, but these women of color have won an apparently firm foothold in all lines of this work.[61] Skilled Negro laborers in other industries such as glass factories, brick and tile manufactories, cotton mills, and fertilizer plants are now much smaller in numbers but have increased considerably since 1910.

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[53] "Norfolk's Thirty-six Per cent, etc." Published by the *Norfolk Journal and Guide*, 1927, p. 3. See also *Scribner's*, March 1921, p. 338; *Review of Reviews*, April 1919, p. 389; and *Survey*, April 23, 1921, p. 209.

[54] In most cases, however, this is not the attitude of employers unless they are forced by urgent needs.

[55] Whether they will remain in these positions is a question which has not yet been determined.

[56] Hartt, in *World's Work*, June 1924, p. 186.

[57] "In Detroit," according to Mr. Forrester B. Washington, "considerable numbers of Negro women were working on machines in large automobile factories, many of them in skilled or semi-skilled occupations. They were employed as assemblers, refectors and shippers. . . . It is estimated that at least 1,000 Negro women were in the skilled industries in the Detroit district."—*Life and Labor*, IX, No. 1, pp. 3-7; *Southern Workman*, Nov. 1923, p. 536; Haynes, *Negro Newcomers to Detroit*.

[58] This was especially true during the World War.

Just what proportion of the entire number of industrial workers the skilled Negro factory workers constitute is difficult to ascertain. Estimates vary. One investigator placed the number of skilled workers at 5 per cent and the semi-skilled workers at 15 per cent.[62] Another survey was made by the United States Department of Labor in 1923 which covered 273 employers of Negro labor in fourteen States representing such an assorted group of industries as iron, steel, copper, leather, machinery, tobacco, foodstuffs, boilers, railroad equipment, glass, textiles, wire, saws, oil, cement, paper, chinaware, and other industries.[63] It showed that in Maryland, Connecticut, Michigan, and Kansas skilled Negro workers increased faster than unskilled workers during the period of a year. The reverse was true in

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[59] Haynes, *The Negro at Work During the War and the Reconstruction*, pp. 45-46; *Report of the Chicago Commission on Race Relations*, p. 374.

[60] U. S. Dept. of Labor, *Monthly Labor Review*, XXI, 1925, p. 257.

[61] This, however, does not necessarily imply skilled labor, for such work is often merely perfunctory.

[62] In the active labor market immediately following the War the Negro could employ in some open shop all the skill he possessed. Now about 10 per cent are in semi-skilled jobs such as those of furnace repair masons, and tenders of almost automatic machinery.

"A bare 5 per cent are found in the skilled positions such as truck drivers, stationary and hoisting engineers, foundry molders, rolling mill ruffers, and rollers, butchers, skilled auto body builders, and heat furnishers and foremen. —Woofter, "Negro and Industrial Peace," *Survey*, Dec. 18, 1920, p. 420.

[63] Release of United States Department of Labor, 1923.

Ohio, California, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Wisconsin, New York, Indiana, Kentucky, New Jersey, and Oklahoma.[64] According to the classification of the United States Census reports on occupations for 1920, about 198,000 Negroes were engaged in skilled labor either in or outside factories. These workers constituted about one-fifth of all Negro wage earners in that year. This figure cannot be taken as portraying the actual situation, however, for included in this number are many workers who obviously were not skilled. Among these may be included firemen in buildings and factories. Almost 125,000, or 13 per cent of Negro workers, were likewise employed in semi-skilled labor. In short, about one-third of all the Negroes affiliated in any way with industrial employment outside or inside the factory walls, performed labor requiring greater or less skill.

Comparison with 1910 while desirable is virtually impossible because of the variation in the occupational schedules.[65] Skilled and unskilled Negro workers listed in 1920 are as follows:

TABLE 46.—SEMI-SKILLED NEGRO LABORERS, 1920

Chemical and allied industries	2,253
Cigar and tobacco factories	19,849
Clay, glass and stone industries	3,551
Clothing industries	13,888
Food industries	15,792
Harness and saddle industries	255
Iron and steel industries	23,616
Other metal industries	1,234
Lumber and furniture factories	9,598
Paper and pulp mills	845
Printing and publishing	1,595
Shoe factories	1,306
Tanneries	971
Textile industries	6,056
Other textile mills	3,262
Other industries	45,514
Total	125,706

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[64] U. S. Department of Labor Office of the Secretary, *Release*, July 7, 1923.

[65] The number of skilled Negro workers actually in factories would be much smaller, for there were 4,707 shoemakers and cobblers; 6,892 tailors and tailoresses; 26,973 dressmakers and seamstresses; and most of the 23,153 firemen, making altogether about 61,725 skilled workers outside of factories thus reducing the number in industrial plants to 136,628.—Derived from *Fourteenth Census of the U. S.*, IV, *Occupations*, pp. 343-351.

TABLE 47.—SKILLED NEGRO LABORERS, 1920

Apprentices to building and hand trades	1,267
Bakers	3,164
Blacksmiths, forgemen and hammermen	8,886
Boiler makers	1,398
Brick and stone masons	10,609
Building and building contractors	1,454
Cabinet makers	456
Carpenters	34,243
Compositors, linotypers and typesetters	1,540
Coopers	2,191
Dressmakers and seamstresses (not in factory)	26,973
Dyers	298
Electricians	1,342
Electrotypers, stereotypers and lithographers	78
Engineers (stationary), cranemen, hoistmen, etc.	6,353
Engineers	111
Filers, grinders, buffers and polishers	936
Firemen (except Fire Department and locomotive)	23,153
Foremen and Overseers (manufacturing)	3,287
Furnacemen, smeltermen, heaters, etc.	3,236
Glass blowers	45
Jewelers, watchmakers, etc.	524
Loom fixers	29
Machinists, millwrights and tool workers	10,286
Managers and superintendents	163
Manufacturers and officials	354
Mechanics (not otherwise specified)	9,290
Millers	367
Milliners	590
Molders, founders and casters	6,634
Painters, glaziers, varnishers, enamelers, etc.	9,432
Paperhangers	954
Pattern and model makers	48
Plasterers and cement finishers	7,082
Plumbers and gas and steam fitters	3,516
Pressmen and plate printers (printing)	101
Rollers and roll hands (metal)	736
Roofers and slaters	609
Sawyers	2,755
Shoemakers and cobblers (not in factory)	4,707
Skilled workers (not otherwise specified)	238
Stonecutters	280
Structural iron workers (building)	196
Tailors and tailoresses	6,892
Tinsmiths and coppersmiths	970
Upholsterers	648
Total	198,353

The number of skilled Negro workers is not as great now as in 1919 due to the industrial slump which followed the Great War while at the same time, as has been observed, white men, whose places had been taken by Negroes, returned seeking their old jobs. In many instances, therefore, the Negroes being marginal or emergency workers either were demoted from their skilled positions to that of unskilled laborers, or were discharged altogether. This was especially evident during the unemployment period following the War, and the discharge of these Negroes in many instances cannot be traced either to any animus against them on the part of the employer or to inefficiency on the part of the Negroes. Rather, their dismissal came as a general consequence of the postbellum deflation from which both white and black suffered.

CHAPTER XVII

GAINS AND LOSSES SUMMARIZED

THE most outstanding tendency of the Negro in occupations since 1890 has been the movement from those employments with which the Negro was most intimately connected during the slave and reconstruction periods—agricultural pursuits and domestic and personal service—into the industrial field, namely, manufacturing and mechanical pursuits, trade and transportation, with a few into professional service largely in the South where most of this element of the population developed.

In 1890, the first separate occupational statistics of the Negroes were compiled by the Census Bureau. The total Negro population was 7,488,676 or 11.9 per cent of the total population of the country. Out of this number 5,328,972 were ten years of age and over. Of these 3,073,164 or 57.6 per cent of all Negroes of this age and description were employed in gainful occupations. The Negroes tended to perform a greater proportionate share of the work done than any of the other large classes of the population with the exception of foreign-born persons, 58.1 per cent of whom were also gainfully employed. While comprising but 11.9 per cent of the total population Negroes furnished 13.5 per cent of all persons gainfully occupied. Although general lack of economic well-being and the relatively inordinate number of Negro females at work numerically increased this figure, the proportionately high rate of Negro employment constituted an eloquent refutation of the once current fallacy that the Negroes would not work. And even then the Negro occupation quota would have been still larger, had not many fields of employment been closed to the race by rigid restrictions of trades unions and public opinion in both North and South.

The Negroes in 1890 were confined almost wholly to two branches of occupations: agricultural pursuits and domestic and personal service. In the former field 1,728,325, or over one-half of all the Negroes gainfully employed, were engaged in some form of agriculture, while 956,754 or almost one-third of all the Negroes gainfully occupied, performed some sort of domestic service, making a grand total of 2,685,079, or 87.3 per cent, or almost seven-eighths of all the Negroes gainfully occupied. On the other hand, the remaining one-eighth, 388,085, were distributed as follows: 208,374, or 6.7 per cent, in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits; 145,717, or 4.7 per cent, in trade, transportation and public service, and 33,994, or 1.1 per cent, in professional service. No other group showed such an undesirable concentration in two of the lowest occupations.

The factors responsible for the menial position of the Negroes in 1890 were varied. First, the great mass of the Negroes, 80.2 per cent, lived in the rural South where agricultural and domestic service were the chief lines of employment for persons in large numbers before the industrialization of the South; secondly, the Negroes had been trained chiefly as farm laborers and servants and executed these tasks well; and thirdly, these tasks were regarded by the whites as peculiarly "Negro jobs." In industry, that is, manufacturing and mechanical industries, and trade and transportation, several factors had combined to keep these numbers to a minimum. In the South, though some employers would accept Negro workers in certain industrial plants and expressed satisfaction with their services, an equal, if not a greater number, rejected the Negroes ostensibly upon the ground of ignorance, carelessness, and unreliability. Prejudice, however, on the part of both the employer and the white laborers, as well as varying inefficiency of Negro workers served to exclude many of them from industry. In the North, the hostility of labor unions which, in general, refused admission to Negroes, the unwillingness of white laborers to work beside Negro employees, the reluctance with which employers hired Negroes and the ease with which they dismissed them in case of objections on the part of their white workmen, all tended to confine the Negroes in the North chiefly to domestic and personal service.

In 1900, there was evidence of a little change in the relative occupational status of the Negroes. This slight variation tended away from farm labor and domestic employment toward industry. The same factors which had operated to confine the Negroes to agricultural pursuits and domestic and personal service still determined their employment. The Negroes were still restricted to their traditional occupations, for in 1900 as many as 86.7 per cent or a trifle under seven-eighths of all the Negroes gainfully employed, were engaged in agricultural pursuits and domestic and personal service. This showed an almost negligible decrease after 1890. In fact, a two-and-one-half per cent decline in those engaged in agriculture, from 56.2 per cent in 1890 to 53.7 per cent in 1900, was practically offset by a corresponding increase of 1.9 per cent in the number engaged in domestic and personal service, which rose from 31.1 per cent in 1890 to 33.0 per cent in 1900. Collectively, however, this resulted in a decrease of 0.6 per cent in the proportionate number engaged in these two occupations from 87.3 per cent in 1890 to 86.7 per cent in 1900. The movement toward manufacturing and mechanical pursuits and trade and transportation, though almost negligible, still was slightly apparent, a gain of 0.2 per cent being evident in the former and an increase of 0.49 per cent in the latter, which together with a 0.1 per cent increase in professional service gave an increase in these fields of 0.79 per cent which balances the slight decline in agriculture and domestic and personal service. Relative to his percentage of the total population in 1900 (11.6 per cent) the Negro had the highest employment percentage of 13.7 per cent, which surpassed that of all other large elements of the population. In addition, a greater percentage of Negroes, ten years of age and over, were at work than the corresponding percentage of any of the other elements. The percentage of workers within the Negro group was 62.2 per cent, an increase of 4.53 per cent beyond that of 1890.

The decade from 1900 to 1910 may be properly styled the beginning of the Negro industrial advance. In this decade the Negroes engaged in their traditional occupations—agriculture and domestic and personal service collectively—showed a decrease of 5.1 percentage points, dropping from 86.7 per cent in 1900 to 81.6 per cent in 1910. The decline, however, was not common to both fields, for those engaged in agriculture showed a numerical increase of 738,300, which raised the total percentage of all Negroes engaged in agricultural pursuits to 55.4 per cent or 1.7 per cent higher than that of 1900, which was 53.7 per cent. The inordinate increase may be partially explained by the disproportionate number of Negro women and children returned as agricultural laborers in 1910, the census takers apparently working under the preconception that every Negro woman and child must have an occupation. In addition, the census was taken in the summer when extra women and children were temporarily hired for field work.

In domestic and personal service, on the other hand, there was by 1910 a decline in the relative percentage of Negroes employed. This was due to general dissatisfaction with Negro servants in the North, the invasion by whites of this field hitherto monopolized by Negroes especially, the greater desirability of the English, Irish, and Scandinavian immigrants as menials, and the breaking of Negroes into occupations hitherto closed. As a result, there came a decline of 6.9 per cent in the total number of Negroes engaged in domestic and personal service, the percentage having diminished from 33.0 in 1900 to 26.1 in 1910. Therefore, although there was a numerical increase in both agricultural pursuits and domestic and personal service during this decade, it actually represented a decline in the total percentage of Negroes engaged in these occupations in 1910 as contrasted with 1900, the reasons for which have been set forth in detail above in the development of this topic and need not be repeated here.

On the other hand, along with the decrease in the percentage of Negroes engaged in domestic and personal service came a remarkable increase in the Negroes in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits and trade and transportation. This change was effected by several factors. Among these should be mentioned the use of the Negroes as strike breakers in the coal and iron mines and in the iron and steel mills, the growing realization that Negroes, given an opportunity to adapt themselves under patient and unprejudiced supervision, would render the same service as any others, the reluctant admission of Negroes into certain labor unions, the increasing industrialization of the South partly with Negro labor, and the greater tractability of the Negro laborers because of their non-union affiliation. The number of Negroes engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits in 1910 showed an increase of more than a hundred per cent, from 275,116 in 1900 to 552,815 in 1910. Though some were skilled laborers, the vast majority were unskilled workers.

The gain in the ranks of skilled workers, however, is not so encouraging as it may seem. While the number of those actually employed has increased the number of apprentices to the trades has decreased. Blacksmiths, carpenters, bricklayers, and painters reported less apprentices in 1920 than in 1910 or 1900. It appears, then, that as a result of an emergency Negroes have been drawn into these pursuits, but at the same time fewer opportunities for a continuous advance into these spheres have been provided.

The increase of Negroes engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits and trade and transportation, however, raised the percentage of all Negroes engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries from 6.9 per cent in 1900 to 10.6 per cent in 1910, a rise of 3.7 per cent. In trade and transportation there was a comparatively smaller percentage increase from 5.2 per cent in 1900 to 6.4 per cent in 1910, a total of 1.2 per cent. What is significant, however, is that at the close of 1910 practically one-fifth of all the Negroes gainfully employed or 18.2 per cent were engaged in trade and transportation, mechanical and industrial pursuits, and professional service, a considerable increase beyond that of 1900. The movement of the Negroes toward industry is clearly seen.

In 1920, a general decrease in persons gainfully occupied was evident with respect to the entire population. This applied, of course, to the Negroes. Although they constituted a constantly diminishing percentage of the total population, the Negroes still performed a greater proportionate share of the work done. The Negroes were 9.9 per cent, the total population in 1920, yet they supplied 11.6 per cent of all persons gainfully occupied. But, although the Negroes rank highest in the number of persons gainfully employed in relation to the total population and have stood first in this respect since 1900, they represent here also a constantly decreasing percentage, due to the rapidly increasing white elements from external as well as from natural sources.

The most significant feature of the occupational statistics of Negroes of 1920 is their industrialization along with a further decrease in agricultural pursuits and domestic service. By 1920 a more equitable distribution of the Negro in the various occupations was finally realized. In agricultural pursuits and domestic and personal service, almost seven-eighths or 87.3 per cent of all Negroes gainfully occupied were employed in 1890. The proportion of Negroes engaged in these two occupations had declined to 67.06 per cent by 1920. This was a percentage decline of 20.24 below that of 1890 and a decline of 14.44 per cent since 1910.

If 1910 saw the beginning of the Negro industrial advance in the United States, 1920 saw this movement at its height, for in that year, 1,506,255 Negroes or 31.2 per cent of all those gainfully employed, were engaged in industrial pursuits, that is, manufacturing and mechanical industries and trade and transportation. Within twenty years 19.1 per cent of all the Negroes gainfully occupied had been readjusted and inducted into industrial occupations. Fourteen and two-tenths per cent of all the Negroes gainfully occupied have entered these occupations since 1910.

Neither the 965,804 Negroes listed as engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries in 1920, however, nor the 540,451 given as performing labor in trade and transportation in that year fully tell the story of the number of Negroes engaged in those industries between 1910 and 1918. It is estimated that over a million Negroes were employed in industrial plants in the North alone during these years of the critical period of the World War. When the census was taken a general industrial depression had gripped the country, and the Negro, being a marginal worker, was usually the first to be laid off.

The industrial trend of the Negroes in occupations becomes much more evident by comparing their numerical gains in the agricultural pursuits and domestic and personal service with those in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits and trade and transportation for the thirty years between 1890 to 1920. In 1890, the total number of Negroes engaged in agricultural pursuits and domestic and personal service was 2,685,079. By 1920 this number had risen to 3,237,713, a numerical increase of 552,634, or 20.5 per cent. On the other hand, only 354,091 Negroes were employed in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits and trade and transportation in 1890. By 1920 this number had reached 1,506,255, an increase of 1,152,164, or 325.4 per cent. In others words, the rate of increase in the industrial employment of the Negroes has been almost sixteen times as great during the thirty-year period from 1890 to 1920 as the rate of increase in agricultural pursuits and domestic and personal service. Allowance, however, must be made for the extraordinary factors which favored the industrial rise of the Negro between 1910 and 1920. Thus, while an increase of over a half million workers in agricultural pursuits and domestic and personal service has resulted in a gradual decline in the percentage of all the Negroes gainfully engaged in these occupations from 87.3 per cent in 1890 to 67.06 per cent in 1920, the accession of 1,152,164 workers to the manufacturing and mechanical industries and trade and transportation has wrought a veritable industrial revolution among the Negroes by raising the percentage of Negroes employed in these pursuits from 11.44 per cent in 1890 to 31.2 per cent in 1920. As a result, therefore, approximately one-third of all the Negroes gainfully employed have been transformed into vital factors in American industry.

The actual gains of the Negroes in industry, trade, and transportation, however, cannot be accurately estimated because of the differing wage scales maintained for the two races. In case of unskilled work in the North little difference is made between the wages of the Negroes and whites who are not affiliated with unions; but in the South, as a rule, the compensation of the unskilled blacks falls considerably below that of whites of the same status. When employed for skilled work in the North Negroes receive the same wages granted the whites according to the union scale, but Negroes are generally kept out of such work by the various provisions and subterfuges already discussed herein *in extenso*. In the South where the preponderance of Negroes facilitates their employment for skilled work there is, nevertheless, a difference in the wages paid the workers of the two races. When engaged for piece work in the North the Negro laborers are not paid on a different scale, but here again the distinction is made by limiting the number of Negroes to be thus engaged. Southern plants, however, not only keep down the number of Negroes assigned to piece work, but have also a different scale for such Negro employees.

To recapitulate:

Several significant tendencies manifest themselves with respect to the Negroes in occupations since 1890. First, is the tendency of the Negroes to constitute a greater percentage of all persons gainfully occupied than of the total population; secondly, the tendency to maintain since 1890 a higher proportion of persons gainfully employed within their group than any other large element of the population; thirdly, the participation relatively of a greater number of Negro females in occupations than the females of any other group in the population. Interwoven, however, throughout all these tendencies, yet affecting and overshadowing them all, is a more significant movement—a tremendous, irresistible, though irregular march-away from employment in agricultural pursuits and domestic and personal service toward manufacturing and mechanical pursuits and trade and transportation. It was this later tendency, attaining its highest point between 1914 and 1920, which decidedly changed the aspect of Negroes in occupations, wrought a greater equilibration in their employments, stamped them as efficient industrial workers, caused the transplanting of over a million Negroes to the North, and thus greatly altered the entire social structure of a large part of the Negro population.

It is highly important, however, for the Negroes to hold the position which they have won in industry. In leaving the agricultural sections many of them have burned their bridges behind them. Years ago when white employers deserted by Negroes on the farms learned to do their own work they thereby precluded the possibility of the return of the Negroes from the industrial centers in case of unemployment. On the other hand, while there is a general tendency to lay off the Negroes first in case of an industrial slump the Negroes have counteracted some of this by inaugurating the policy of refusing to spend their money where they cannot work. It is still more significant that a few Negro workers are taking up such small businesses as running vegetable wagons, fruit carts, and peanut stands, which were once monopolized by foreigners. Already a few avenues are being opened by Negro banks, insurance companies, and manufacturing enterprises in both the North and South. The increasing attention given to business and technical training in the better supported Negro schools of to-day will decidedly increase the efficiency and enterprise of these workers who in their undeveloped state cannot successfully compete with highly skilled laborers and educated promoters.

What is herein said will naturally lead one to inquire as to whether the Negro wage earner has actually solved the problem of breaking his way through to higher ground. If the progress of Negro labor toward full recognition by white labor be taken as the proper estimate of such advancement the answer will be determined largely in the negative. The American labor movement has made no serious attempt to unionize black laborers. Wherever this has been done, the chief motive has been not to improve the general status of Negro workers but primarily to lessen the menace which the Negroes by virtue of their formidable numbers constituted in various occupations. In other words, the Negroes have been organized chiefly in the interest of economic self-preservation, in order that they might be subject to union regulations and not be used by capitalists as a club to overawe white labor.

Proof of this is supplied by the fact that the majority of Negro workers in trades unions have been, and still are, mainly common laborers or miners. In 1890, out of 3,523 Negro union workers, 1,500 were longshoremen, 1,500 were tobacco factory operatives, and 200 were barbers, leaving only 323 members who were affiliated with the skilled trades. Of these 50 belonged to the International Brick, Tile and Terra-Cotta Workers' Alliance; 240 were members of the Carriage and Wagon Makers' International Union, and 33 were affiliated with the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.[1]

In 1900, although the number of Negro union workers reported was almost ten times that of 1890, the increases followed along the same lines of the latter year. There were 32,769 Negro members of various unions. Of these the United Mine Workers led with 20,000. The International Longshoremen's Union followed with 6,000. The International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen had 2,700; the Tobacco Workers 1,000; and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners 1,000. The Journeymen Barbers' International Union had 800; the Carriage and Wagon Workers' International Union 500; the Coopers' International Union 200; and the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America 169.[2] How few Negroes were organized is shown by the fact that these union workers constituted less than one-hundredth of all Negro laborers in 1900.

There exist to-day, then, and have for some time, varying degrees of union relationships in so far as white and black workers are concerned. Among these may be cited, first, those unions which cover largely unskilled work or menial service. Such unions naturally have the largest numbers of Negro workers. Among these are the Longshoremen with 15,000 members[3] in both mixed and separate locals,[4] and the Hod Carriers and Building Laborers with 8,000 similarly affiliated. The Musicians have 3,000, and the Hotel and Restaurant Employees have 1,000 in such unions. The two latter unions, together with the Journeymen Barbers, Laundry Workers, Tobacco Workers, United Textile Workers, Cooks and Waiters, and the American Federation of Teachers admit Negroes freely, but only to separate unions.

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[1] *The Negro Artisan*, p. 158.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 158.

[3] *Survey*, April 15, 1928, p. 113.

[4] The strength of the Negro workers in this union is shown by the fact that out of 14 vice-presidents of the Longshoremen's Union 3 are Negroes.—Statement of Mr. Milner of the Norfolk Longshoremen's Union to the National Interracial Conference, Washington, D. C., Dec. 1928.

On the other hand, the National Federation of Federal Employees, the Mail Carriers, and the National Federation of Post Office Employees admit Negroes only to mixed unions. In the case of the latter, this is made imperative by granting only one local under each postmaster. In the South, however, the whites, who do not wish to associate with Negroes, withdraw by special permission and affiliate under an all-white local in another town.[5]

Another type of union comes closer to the original purpose of the American Federation of Labor in that it admits Negroes freely but only to mixed unions. None of them, however, are affiliated with the Federation. Both skilled and semi-skilled Negroes are found in these bodies. Among these is the United Mine Workers' Union, which includes a large number of Negro miners in the coal fields of West Virginia and Western Pennsylvania.[6] The number of Negro miners affiliated with the United Mine Workers is difficult to determine because separate records are not kept according to race. That Negroes join freely, however, is evidenced by the report of a district organizer in 1924, which gave the number of organized Negro miners in the Pittsburgh district alone at 8,000.[7] Another union into which the Negroes have been generally inducted is the Garment Workers' Union. With no Negro membership before the World War, this union now has 6,000 Negro constituents.[8] The readiness with which Negroes are taken into the Garment Makers' Union is chiefly because this industry is controlled by Russian Jews who are more or less friendly toward the Negro workers.[9] Another factor is the large number of Negroes who have gone into this industry since 1914.

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[5] *The Survey*, April 15, 1928, p. 113. These findings relative to the attitudes of these various unions toward Negro workers were confirmed by Mr. Greene's interview with Messrs. Tracy and Frey of the American Federation of Labor.

[6] *The Survey*, April 15, p. 113.

[7] Harris, "The Negro in the Coal Mining Industry" in *Opportunity*, Feb. 1924, p. 46 (note).

[8] *The Survey*, April 15, p. 113.

[9] *Reports of the U. S. Immigration Committee*, II, p. 417.

An additional group of unions excluded the Negroes either by ritual or by constitutional provisions. Such include the Railway Car Men, Boiler Makers, Dining Car Conductors, Sleeping Car Conductors, Railway Conductors, Machinists, Engineers, Firemen, Switchmen, Telegraphers, Train Dispatchers, Trainmen, Yardmasters, Railroad Workers, Wire Weavers, Clerks, Freight-Handlers, Express and Station Employees, Masters, Mates and Pilots, the Railway Mail Association, and the Neptune Association.[75] Other unions in this class are the Electrical Workers, the Sheet Metal Workers, the Plasterers' Union, and the Plumbers and Steam Fitters.[10] These unions, while not excluding Negroes expressly, achieve the same purpose through circumvention. As a result there are virtually no Negro plumbers or electricians in labor unions, although there are more than 4,000 of these workers. Of the 7,000 Negro plasterers, only 782 are organized.[11]

Other unions like the Carpenters and Joiners, the Painters, and Bricklayers admit Negroes, but do not solicit their membership. The only exception to this has been in the South, where the Negro could seriously handicap the white artisans by underworking them. Despite this, although there are more than 34,000 Negro carpenters, only 1,572 are members of the Carpenters and Joiners' Union. In the same manner, out of approximately 9,000 Negro painters, only about 718 are union men. In the South, the Negroes have unions of their own; in the North they are usually taken, when permitted to affiliate, into mixed unions.

Still another group of unions are those made up entirely of Negroes, which are directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Among these may be cited the Negro Freight Handlers who, after considerable wrangling, were granted permission to organize in 1921. According to the latest tabulation in the files of the American Federation of Labor, there were on February 21, 1930, sixteen unions of

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[10] *Handbook of American Trade Unions*, 1929 edition, *passim*.

[11] *The Survey*, April 15, 1928, p. 114.

Negro Freight Handlers scattered throughout the country. The total paid-up membership was 383. They were distributed according to the accompanying table.[12]

TABLE 48.—LIST OF FREIGHT HANDLERS' UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

No	Name	Location	Last Paid Membership
16324	Freight Handlers & Helpers	Charleston, S. C.	21
16381	Freight Handlers & Stat. Empl.	Baltimore, Md.	10
16434	Freight Handlers	New Orleans, La.	16
16665	Freight Handlers	Brunswick, Md.	10
16953	Freight Handlers	Providence, R. I.	15
17165	Freight Handlers	Cleveland, Ohio	39
17393	Freight Handlers	Baltimore, Md.	10
17523	Freight Handlers & Stat. Empl.	Wilmington, N. C.	10
17658	Freight Handlers & Stat. Empl.	Portsmouth, Va.	50
17769	Freight Handlers & Stat. Empl.	Kansas City, Kas.	44
17775	Freight Handlers	Kansas City, Mo.	16
17980	Freight Handlers	Tampa, Fla.	30
17985	Freight Handlers	Columbia, S. C.	25
18040	Freight Handlers	Houston, Texas	29
18087	Freight Handlers	Portsmouth, Va.	48
18115	Freight Handlers	Memphis, Tenn.	10
	Total membership		383

Another such union of Negro workers is the Pullman, or Sleeping Car Porters. They were organized through the efforts of A. Phillip Randolph, and chartered by the American Federation of Labor on May 8, 1929. Some benefits have already accrued to these miserably paid workers by virtue of their affiliation, for according to an official of the American Federation of Labor, the members, since obtaining their charter, have already received three five dollar monthly increases in wages.[13] There are now 115 of these unions in various parts of the country, which had a total paid-up membership of 1,342 on February 21, 1930. The largest number of these were in Chicago with 430 members, followed by New York City with 225. The others were listed as shown in the subjoined table.[14]

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[12] This list was given to the authors by Mr. M. J. Wilcoxson, bookkeeper of the American Federation of Labor at Washington, D. C., Friday, Feb. 21, 1930.

[13] Interview with Mr. Tracy of the American Federation of Labor.

[14] The table was given to the authors through the courtesy of Mr. M. J. Wilcoxson of the American Federation of Labor.

TABLE 49.—LIST OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS' UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

No	Name	Location	Last Paid Membership
18068	Sleeping Car Porters.....	New York, N. Y.	225
18070	Sleeping Car Porters.....	Chicago, Ill.	430
18075	Sleeping Car Porters.....	St. Louis, Mo.	81
18076	Sleeping Car Porters.....	Detroit, Mich.	45
18077	Sleeping Car Porters.....	Kansas City, Mo.	22
18078	Sleeping Car Porters.....	St. Paul and Minneapolis, Minn.	66
18079	Sleeping Car Porters.....	Oakland, Cal.	182
18080	Sleeping Car Porters.....	Washington, D. C.	13
18082	Sleeping Car Porters.....	New Orleans, La.	9
18085	Sleeping Car Porters.....	Los Angeles, Cal.	53
18086	Sleeping Car Porters.....	Cleveland, Ohio	32
18088	Sleeping Car Porters.....	Denver, Colo.	54
18089	Sleeping Car Porters.....	Fort Worth, Texas	52
18097	Sleeping Car Porters.....	Boston, Mass.	37
18104	Sleeping Car Porters.....	Omaha, Nebr.	41
	Total membership		1,342

In addition to these organizations, other Negroes excluded from white unions, yet desirous of obtaining the benefits of higher wages and better working conditions derived from collective bargaining, also have organized by special permission of the American Federation of Labor. Among these may be mentioned the Boiler Makers' Union of Jacksonville, Florida, which has 23 members; the Express Employees of Chicago with 35; the Baggage and Messengers of San Francisco, California, with 11; the Station Porters of Savannah, Georgia, with 14; and the Federal Labor Union of Newark, New Jersey, with 9.[15]

The total number and proportion of Negro union workers, however, still remains insignificant compared to that of the whites. Estimates of the Negro members of such organizations are, at best, only speculative, for most of these unions, as stated, do not list their members according to race.[16] The present number has been estimated as varying between 45,000[17] and 65,000,[18] with a possible average of 55,000. If the number of members belonging to purely local organizations and independent Negro unions, and to the Sleeping Car Porters be added it would probably reach 80,000. Opposed to this small total of a probable 55,000 or 60,000 membership, the American Federation of Labor, alone, in 1929, had 2,933,545 members [19] in 105 national and international unions, and 28,865 local unions. Thus, about one out of every ten white workers (except agricultural laborers and farmers) was a union man; while for the Negroes, following similar vocations, only one out of fifty was unionized. Comparing, then, the whites in the American Federation of Labor alone with the proportion of unionized Negroes, one finds that the black workers are only about one-fifth as thoroughly organized as the whites.[20]

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[15] These statistics were furnished by Mr. M. J. Wilcoxson of the American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.

[16] They make no distinction and at the same time they do.

[17] Interview with John P. Frey, President of the Moulders' Union.

[18] *The Survey*, April 15, 1928, p. 113.

The number of Negroes admitted to labor unions, moreover, showed far smaller increases during the thirty year span from 1900 to 1930 than during the decade from 1890 to 1900. During the latter period 29,246 Negroes were added to the ranks of organized labor. On the other hand, between 1900 and 1930 only 28,263 such persons were taken into unions. If these comparative numbers may be taken as an index of the future organizability of Negro labor, then the outlook for the Negro is dark indeed, for they were organized many times faster between 1890 and 1900 than they were between 1900 and 1930.

The large majority of Negroes therefore are still outside the pale of organized labor. In most cases the labor movement has ignored them. In others, it has been impossible to overcome the prejudice of narrow minded white laborers, who either cannot, or refuse to see that the elevation of the working classes demands the protection of all laborers alike, regardless of their color, race, or creed. In still other instances Negroes do not possess sufficient skill to demand admittance into such unions, or do not work at the trades in any appreciable numbers. Examples may be cited of the Hatters, Operative Potters, Pullman Conductors, Railway Engineers, Leather Workers, and others. Few work at these vocations because they not only are expressly barred, but are even denied opportunity to learn such trades or vocations through apprenticeship.[21]

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[19] *Report of the Proceedings of the Forty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor*, Oct. 7 to 18, 1929, p. 26.

[20] Of the white workers 10.5 per cent are unionized, of the Negroes only 2.0 per cent.

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[21] Interview with Messrs. Tracy and Frey of the American Federation of Labor.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

To summarize in a different way the findings of this research and to facilitate comparison of the various groups with respect to occupations this table of statistics for 1890, 1900, 1910, and 1920 is given. In each case will be found the numbers employed, the increase or decrease in numbers, and the percentage of increase or decrease.

In case of variation in the classification from census to census the matter is taken care of in appropriate footnotes which show how to harmonize these figures. Taken altogether, then, with what has already been said on these topics there can be little chance for a failure to understand what the Negroes in the United States have been doing since emancipation and in what lines they have shown the most development.

TABLE 50. COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTION OF NEGROES IN THE VARIOUS OCCUPATIONS FROM 1890 TO 1920

Agriculture (a)

OCCUPATIONS	1890	1900	Increase or Dec.	Rate		1910	Increase or Dec.	Rate		1920	Increase or Dec.	Rate	
				Inc.	Dec.			Inc.	Dec.			Inc.	Dec.
Total	1,728,325	2,143,154	414,829	24.0	.....	2,881,454	738,300	34.4	.....	2,178,888	−702,566	.....	24.3
Agricultural Laborers	1,106,728	1,344,125	237,397	24.2	.....	1,943,755	599,630	44.6	.....	1,193,593	−750,162	.....	33.4
Dairymen and Dairywomen (owners)	666	537	−129	.....	19.3	2,721	2,184	406.7	.....	2,225	−496	.....	18.2
Farmers, Planters and Overseers	590,666	757,822	167,156	28.2	.....	879,600	121,778	16.1	.....	927,533	47,933	5.4	.....
General Farms	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Gardeners, Florists, Nurserymen, Etc	5,488	2,456	3,032	.....	55.2	5,171	2,715	110.5	.....	6,814	1,643	31.7	.....
Lumbermen, Raftsmen, Woodchoppers	11,418	15,925	4,507	39.4	.....	23,034	7,109	44.6	.....	25,609	2,575	11.1	.....
Owners of Lumber Camps	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	99	.....	.....	.....
Stockraisers, herders and drovers	1,325	1,311	− 14	.....	1.05	2,147	836	63.7	.....	1,715	−432	.....	20.1
Turpentine Farmers and Laborers	12,034	20,744	8,710	72.3	.....	24,630	3,886	13.9	.....	14,378	−10,252	.....	41.6
Turpentine Farmers	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	69.2	.....	(b)61	62	.....	.....
Other Agricultural Pursuits	.....	234	.....	.....	.....	396	162	.....	.....	458	.....	15.6	.....

(a) Increase unless indicated by minus (−) sign.

(b) Included with turpentine farmers and laborers in other years.

Table 50. Comparative Distribution of Negroes in the Various Occupations from 1890 to 1920—*Continued*

Domestic and Personal Service (a)

Occupations	1890	1900	Increase or Dec.	Rate		1910	Increase or Dec.	Rate		1920	Increase or Dec.	Rate	
				Inc.	Dec.			Inc.	Dec.			Inc.	Dec.
Total	956,754	1,317,859	361,105	37.7	.....	1,357,598	39,739	3.01	.....	1,064,590	−293,008	......	21.5
Barbers and Hairdressers	17,480	19,942	2,462	14.08	.....	22,534	2,592	12.9	.....	31,352	8,818	39.1	.....
Boarding, Lodging, House-keepers	2,323	4,187	1,864	80.2	.....	10,401	6,214	148.4	.....	10,787	386	3.71	.....
Bartenders	1,878	2,472	594	31.6	.....	2,666	194	7.84	.....	573	−2,093	.....	78.5
Hotel Keepers	420	481	61	14.5	.....	973	492	102.2	.....	1,020	47	4.8	.....
Housekeepers and Stewards	9,248	10,596	1,348	14.5	.....	11,624	1,028	9.7	.....	15,161	3,537	30.4	.....
Janitors and Sextons	5,945	11,536	5,591	94.04	.....	24,871	13,335	115.5	.....	44,110	19,239	77.3	.....
Servants and Waiters	401,215	465,734	64,519	16.8	.....	605,506	139,772	30.01	.....	527,426	−78,080	......	12.8
Soldiers, Sailors and U. S. Marines	2,782	3,498	716	25.7	.....	3,734	236	6.7	.....	12,511	8,777	235.0	.....
Watchmen, Policemen, Firemen, etc	2,019	2,993	974	48.2	.....	4,648	1,655	55.2	.....	5,676	1,028	22.1	.....
Other Domestic and Personal Service	....	....	....	.....	.....	....	....	.....	.....	....	....	.....	.....
Launderers and Laundresses	153,684	220,104	66,420	43.2	.....	382,510	162,406	73.7	.....	314,342	−68,168	.....	17.8
Nurses and midwives	5,213	19,431	14,218	272.7	.....	22,969	3,538	18.2	.....	15,235	−7,734	.....	17.9
Restaurant Keepers	2,157	3,993	1,836	85.1	.....	6,369	2,376	59.5	.....	7,511	1,142	.....	.....
Saloon Keepers	932	890	−42	.....	4.5	1,663	773	86.8	.....	96	−1,567	.....	94.2
Billiard and Pool Room Keepers	....	....	....	.....	.....	875	....	.....	.....	1,509	634	72.4	.....
Dance Hall and Skating Rink, etc. Keepers	....	....	....	.....	.....	136	....	.....	.....	73	−63	.....	46.3

(*a*) Because of a change of classification it is impossible to ascertain exactly the number of laborers in domestic and personal service.

Fisheries

Occupations	1890	1900	Increase or Dec.	Rate		1910	*Increase* or Dec.	Rate		1920	*Increase* or Dec.	Rate	
				Inc.	Dec.			Inc.	Dec.			Inc.	Dec.
Fishermen and Oystermen	10,071	10,427	356	3.5	.....	8,268	−2,159	.....	20.7	5,756	−2,512	.....	30.3

Occupations	1890	1900	Increase or Dec.	Rate		1910	Increase or Dec.	Rate		1920	Increase or Inc.	Rate	
				Inc.	Dec.			Inc.	Dec.			Inc.	Dec.
Total	145,717	208,989	63,272	43.4	.....	334,422	125,433	60.01	....	503,440	169,019	50.5	.....
Agents	1,172	2,105	933	79.6	.....	4,355	2,250	106.8	....	(*a*)5,973	1,618	37.1	.....
Bankers and Brokers	114	82	−32	.....	28.0	241	159	193.9	....	(*b*)142	−99	.....	41.07
Boatmen and Sailors	6,545	6,504	−41	.....	0.62	7,469	965	14.8	....	7,886	417	5.5	.....
Stevedores	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	....	27,206	.....	.....	.....
Bookkeepers and Accountants	293	475	182	62.1	.....	1,628	1,153	242.7	....	2,364	736	45.2	.....
Clerks and copyists	4,972	6,172	1,200	24.1	.....	13,578	7,406	119.9	....	17,437	3,859	28.4	.....
Stenographers and Typists	126	395	269	213.4	.....	1,081	686	173.6	....	2,312	1,231	113.8	.....
Commercial Travelers	103	187	84	81.5	.....	332	145	77.5	....	357	25	7.5	.....
Draymen, Hackmen, Teamsters, etc. Chauffeurs	43,963	67,585	23,622	53.7	.....	96,897	29,312	43.3	....	96,822	−75	....	.07
Foremen and Overseers	471	565	94	19.9	.....	1,854	1,289	228.1	....	2,048	194	10.4	.....
Hostlers	10,500	14,496	3,996	38.0	.....	12,976	−1,520	.....	10.4	4,147	−8,829	.....	67.9
Hucksters and Peddlers	2,516	3,270	654	25.9	.....	3,434	164	5.0	....	3,194	−240	.....	6.9
Livery Stable Keepers	390	509	119	30.5	.....	403	−106	.....	20.8	193	−210	.....	52.1
Merchants and Dealers (Wholesale excepted)	6,646	9,095	2,449	36.8	.....	13,924	4,829	53.09	....	23,526	9,602	68.8	.....
Merchants and Dealers Wholesale	535	148	−387	.....	72.3	257	109	7.36	....	67	−190	.....	73.9
Messenger and Errand and Office Boys	4,119	5,075	956	23.2	.....	8,816	3,741	73.7	....	1,332	−7,484	.....	84.8
Officials of Banks and Companies	213	149	−64	.....	30.04	1,115	966	648.3	....	1,434	319	28.6	.....
Packers and Shippers	567	1,865	1,298	.....	228.9	2,944	1,079	57.8	....	4,089	1,145	38.8	.....
Porters and Helpers (in stores)	11,694	28,977	17,283	147.7	.....	45,256	16,279	56.1	....	40,885	−4,371	.....	9.6
Salesmen and Saleswomen	1,166	2,799	1,633	140.0	.....	4,699	1,900	67.8	....	6,413	1,714	36.4	.....
Steam Railroad Employees	47,548	55,327	7,779	16.3	.....	103,606	48,279	87.2	....	126,707	23,101	22.3	.....
Street Railway Employees	589	629	40	6.7	.....	3,748	3,119	495.8	....	4,326	578	15.4	.....
Telegraph and Telephone Linemen	271	529	258	91.5	.....	1,058	529	100.0	....	377	−681	.....	64.3
Telegraph and Telephone Operators	156	69	−87	.....	55.7	362	293	426.4	....	848	486	134.2	.....
Undertakers	231	453	222	96.1	.....	953	500	110.3	....	1,558	605	63.4	.....
Others in Trade and Transportation	817	1,529	712	87.1	.....	3,436	1,907	124.7	....	5,901	2,465	71.7	.....

(*a*) Includes 1,566 real estate agents.

(*b*) Highly probable that prior to 1920 this number included not only bankers themselves, but those who were employed as clerks in the banks, for the Negroes have never had that number of bankers or brokers.

TABLE 50. COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTION OF NEGROES IN THE VARIOUS OCCUPATIONS FROM 1890 TO 1920—*Continued*

MANUFACTURING AND MECHANICAL PURSUITS

OCCUPATIONS	1890	1900	Increase or Dec.	Rate		1910	Increase or Dec.	Rate		1920	Increase or Dec.	Rate	
				Inc.	Dec.			Inc.	Dec.			Inc.	Dec.
Total	208,374	275,116	66,742	32.0	.....	552,815	277,699	100.9	.....	960,039	407,224	73.6	.....
Building Trades													
Carpenters and Joiners	22,581	21,113	−1,468	.....	6.5	31,549	10,436	49.4	.....	34,441	2,892	9.1	.....
Masons, (brick and stone)	9,760	14,386	4,626	47.3	.....	(a)23,650	9,264	64.4	.....	**10,736	−12,914	.....	54.5
Painters, Glaziers and Varnishers	4,447	5,782	1,335	30.0	.....	9,063	3,281	56.7	.....	9,512	449	4.9	.....
Molders, Founders and Casters	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	*6,634	.....	.....	.....
Paper hangers	274	586	312	113.8	.....	1,026	440	75.08	.....	963	−63	.....	6.1
Plasterers	4,006	3,757	−249	.....	6.2	6,783	3,026	80.5	.....	† 7,164	381	5.6	.....
Plumbers (gas and steam)	635	1,193	558	87.8	.....	3,506	2,313	193.8	.....	3,599	93	2.6	.....
Roofers and Slaters	243	368	125	51.4	.....	721	353	.....	.....	629	−92	.....	12.7
Mechanics (not specified)	746	377	−369	.....	49.5	612	235	62.33	.....	‡9,979	9,367	1530.5	.....

(a) Includes 11,076 helpers and 171 apprentices.
* Includes 6,310 iron molders and casters, and 198 apprentices.
** Includes 127 apprentices, 3 female masons.
† Includes 1,265 cement finishers.
‡ Includes 689 apprentices.

MANUFACTURING AND MECHANICAL PURSUITS (*Continued*)

OCCUPATIONS	1890	1900	Increase or Dec.	Rate		1910	Increase or Dec.	Rate		1920	Increase or Dec.	Rate	
				Inc.	Dec.			Inc.	Dec.			Inc.	Dec.
Total	19,007	36,561	17,554	92.8	.....	60,598	24,037	68.4	.....	73,229	12,631	20.8	.....
Foremen, Overseers and Inspectors	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	200	.....	.....	.....	598	398	19.9	.....
Foremen and Overseers	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	190	.....	.....	.....	271	81	42.6	.....
Operators Officials and Managers	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	146	.....	.....	.....	26	−120	.....	82.1
Managers	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	17	.....	.....	.....	2	−15	.....	88.2
Officials	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	4	1	33.3	.....
Inspectors	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	126	.....	.....	.....	20	−106	.....	84.1
Coal Mine Operatives	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	39,567	.....	.....	.....	54,597	15,030	37.09	.....
Copper Mine Operatives	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	272	.....	.....	.....	73	−199	.....	73.1
Gold and Silver Mine operatives	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	286	.....	.....	.....	86	−200	.....	69.9
Iron Mine operatives	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5,235	.....	.....	.....	5,344	109	2.08	.....
Operatives (other than not specified mines)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5,067	.....	.....	.....	4,256	−811	.....	16.0
Quarry operatives	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	9,953	.....	.....	.....	6,326	−3,627	.....	36.4
Oil and Gas Well operatives	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	215	.....	.....	.....	1,703	1,488	692.9	.....
Salt Well and Works operative inspectors	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	188	.....	.....	.....	220	32	17.02	.....

Clay, Glass and Stone Products

OCCUPATIONS	1890	1900	Increase or Dec.	Rate		1910	Increase or Dec.	Rate		1920	Increase or Dec.	Rate	
				Inc.	Dec.			Inc.	Dec.			Inc.	Dec.
Total	12,245	11,866	−379	.....	3.09	21,118	9,252	77.9	.....	21,000	−118	.....	0.55
Brick and Tile Makers	10,521	9,970	−551	.....	5.2	16,941	6,971	69.9	.....	(a) 14,011	−2,930	.....	17.2
Glass Workers	252	427	175	69.4	.....	2,243	1,816	425.2	.....	(b) 5,054	2,811	125.3	.....
Marble and Stone Cutters*	1,279	1,257	−22	.....	1.7	1,513	256	20.3	.....	(c) 1,094	−419	.....	27.6
Potters	193	212	19	9.8	.....	421	209	98.5	.....	(d) 841	420	99.7	.....

(a) Includes 1,004 semi-skilled operatives and 3,917 lime, cement and artificial stone laborers.
(b) Includes 46 glass blowers and 1,506 semi-skilled operatives, others being laborers in glass factories.
(c) Includes 597 unskilled laborers.
(d) Includes 642 laborers.
* Includes lime, cement and other stone workers.

Leather and its Finished Products

OCCUPATIONS	1890	1900	Increase or Dec.	Rate		1910	Increase or Dec.	Rate		1920	Increase or Dec.	Rate	
				Inc.	Dec.			Inc.	Dec.			Inc.	Dec.
Total	6,553	5,940	−613	.....	9.3	8,994	3,054	51.4	.....	8,108	−886	.....	−9.8
Boot and Shoe Makers and Repairers	5,087	4,574	−513	.....	10.8	6,415	1,841	40.2	.....	(a) 6,357	58	.....	0.9
Harness & Saddle Makers & Repairers	295	270	−25	.....	8.4	332	62	22.9	.....	(b) 405	73	21.9	.....
Leather Curriers and Tanners	1,103	1,073	−30	.....	2.7	2,139	1,066	99.3		(c) 971	−1,168	.....	54.1
Trunk and Leather Case Makers	68	23	−45	.....	66.1	108	85	369.5	.....	(d) 375	267	247.2	.....

(a) Includes 1,306 laborers in shoe factories and 344 semi-skilled operatives.
(b) No particular report was made on saddle and harness makers in 1920, but they were evidently included under the only two headings of this sort given, namely, 150 laborers and 255 semi-skilled operatives.
(c) There were also 2,503 laborers not herein included.
(d) Does not include 394 laborers.

TABLE 50. COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTION OF NEGROES IN THE VARIOUS OCCUPATIONS FROM 1890 TO 1920—*Continued*

Chemical and Allied Products

OCCUPATIONS	1890	1900	Increase or Dec.	Rate		1910	Increase or Dec.	Rate		1920	Increase or Dec.	Rate	
				Inc.	Dec.			Inc.	Dec.			Inc.	Dec.
Total	1,225	3,557	2,332	190.3	.....	11,524	7,967	223.9	.....	47,533	36,009	312.3	....
Oil Well and Oil works employees	811	2,378	1,567	193.2	.....	1,688	−690	.....	29.0	*8,055	6,367	377.1	....
Other chemical workers	414	1,179	765	184.7	.....	9,836	8,657	734.2	.....	19,739	9,903	100.6	....
Fertilizer Factories	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	10,218	.....	.....	....
Paint and Varnish Factories	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	734	.....	.....	....
Powder, cartridge, Dynamite, and Fireworks Factories	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,030	.....	.....	....
Soap Factories	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	459	.....	.....	....
Other Chemical Factories	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7,298	.....	.....	....

* Includes 3,288 gas workers which might not have been included in number recorded under oil wells and oil works employees for the preceding census.

Lumber and its Manufactures

OCCUPATIONS	1890	1900	Increase or Dec.	Rate		1910	Increase or Dec.	Rate		1920	Increase or Inc.	Rate	
				Inc.	Dec.			Inc.	Dec.			Inc.	Dec.
Total	22,285	39,375	17,090	76.6	.....	122,216	82,841	210.3	.....	118,407	−3,809	.....	3.1
Cabinet Makers	345	342	−3	.....	0.87	469	127	37.1	.....	(*a*) 475	6	1.2	.....
Coopers	2,648	2,964	316	11.9	.....	2,370	−594	.....	20.0	(*b*)2,252	−118	.....	4.9
Saw and Planing Mill Employees	17,276	33,266	15,990	92.5	.....	108,811	75,545	227.0	.....	106,580	−2,231	.....	2.05
Other Woodworkers	2,016	2,803	783	39.03	.....	10,566	7,763	276.9	.....	(*c*)9,100	−1,466	.....	13.8

(*a*) Includes 19 apprentices to cabinet makers.

(*b*) Includes 61 apprentices to coopers.

(*c*) Includes 6 woodcarvers.

Iron and Steel and their Products

OCCUPATIONS	1890	1900	Increase or Dec.	Rate		1910	Increase or Dec.	Rate		1920	Increase* or Inc.	Rate	
				Inc.	Dec.			Inc.	Dec.			Inc.	Dec.
Total	19,359	24,991	5,632	29.0	.....	47,691	22,700	90.8	.....	150,669	102,978	215.7	.....
Blacksmiths	10,988	10,100	−888	.....	8.08	10,995	895	8.8	.....	(a)9,047	1,948	17.7	.....
Machinists	857	1,263	406	47.3	.....	3,120	1,857	147.02	.....	(b)10,570	7,450	238.7	.....
Millwrights	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	375	.....	.....	.....
Steam Boiler Makers	157	335	178	113.1	.....	475	140	44.7	.....	(c)1,420	945	198.8	.....
Other Iron and Steel Workers	7,357	13,293	5,936	80.8	.....	33,101	19,808	.....	.....	(d)129,257	96,156	290.4	.....
Agricultural Implement Factories	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	596	.....	.....	.....	836	240	40.2	.....
Automobile Factories	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	669	.....	.....	.....	6,430	5,761	861.1	.....
Blast Furnaces and Steel Rolling Mills	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	18,220	.....	.....	.....	42,445	24,225	132.9	.....
Car and Railroad Shops	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,425	.....	.....	.....	8,958	4,533	102.4	.....
Ship and Boat Building	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,347	.....	.....	.....	17,149	12,802	294.5	.....
Wagon and Carriage Factories	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,983	.....	.....	.....	1,291	−692	.....	.....
Tool-makers, Dye Setters, and Sinkers	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	158	.....	.....	34.9

(a) Includes 161 apprentices and 365 hammermen and forgemen.
(b) Includes 284 apprentices and 375 millwrights and 158 tool makers, dye setters and sinkers.
(c) Includes 22 apprentices of boiler makers.
(d) Includes members cited above.

Liquor and other Beverages

OCCUPATIONS	1890	1900	Increase or Dec.	Rate		1910	Increase or Dec.	Rate		1920	Increase or Dec.	Rate	
				Inc.	Dec.			Inc.	Dec.			Inc.	Dec.
Total	696	638	−58	.....	8.3	1,848	1,210	189.6	.....	2,509	661	35.7	.....
Bottlers and Soda Water Makers, etc	88	160	72	81.8	.....	914	754	471.2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Brewers and Maltsters	136	155	19	13.9	.....	429	274	176.7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Distillers and Rectifiers	472	323	−149	.....	31.5	505	182	56.3	.....	2,509	2,004	.....	396.8

TABLE 50. COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTION OF NEGROES IN THE VARIOUS OCCUPATIONS FROM 1890 TO 1920—*Continued*

Food and Kindred Products

OCCUPATIONS	1890	1900	Increase or Dec.	Rate		1910	Increase or Dec.	Rate		1920	Increase or Dec.	Rate	
				Inc.	Dec.			Inc.	Dec.			Inc.	Dec.
Total	5,926	7,754	1,828	30.8	.....	24,334	16,580	213.8	.....	28,030	3,696	15.1	.....
Bakers	1,135	1,521	386	34.0	.....	2,564	1,043	68.5	.....	3,164	600	23.4	.....
Slaughter and Packing Houses	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5,278	.....	.....	.....	7,554	2,276	43.1	.....
Butter and Cheese Makers	81	322	241	297.5	.....	116	−206	.....	63.9	(a) 190	74	63.8	.....
Fish Curing and Packing	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3,191	.....	.....	.....
Confectioners	477	541	64	13.4	.....	707	166	30.6	.....	(b) 1,405	698	98.7	.....
Millers	1,487	895	−592	.....	39.8	1,577	682	76.2	.....	(c) 871	−706	.....	44.7
Other Food preparers	2,746	4,475	1,729	62.9	.....	12,901	8,426	188.2	.....	12,970	69	0.53	.....
Fruit and Vegetable Canning	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	362	.....	.....	.....	(d) 494	132	36.4	.....
Sugar Factories and Refineries	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	829	.....	.....	.....	(d) 161	668	.....	80.5

(a) There were also 397 laborers employed in butter and cheese factories who are not herein included.

(b) There were also 699 laborers in candy factories not herein included.

(c) Includes 504 semi-skilled operatives. 2,564 laborers are not herein included.

(d) Included in other food preparers not listed separately in the census preceding 1910 or 1920.

Paper and Printing

OCCUPATIONS	1890	1900	Increase or Dec.	Rate		1910	Increase or Dec.	Rate		1920	Increase or Dec.	Rate	
				Inc.	Dec.			Inc.	Dec.			Inc.	Dec.
Bookbinders and Engravers	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	45	.....	.....	.....
Paper and Pulp Mill Operatives	255	321	66	25.8	.....	1,093	772	245.0	.....	3,771	2,678	245.0	.....
Printing and engraving	1,035	1,328	293	28.3	.....	2,554	1,226	92.3	.....	(a) 4,694	2,140	83.7	.....

(a) This item is composed by including all figures under publishing and printing with the exception of paper and pulp mill operatives. Includes 45 engravers, 1,341 compositors and typesetters, 101 pressmen and plate printers, and 1,595 semi-skilled employees in publishing houses.

Metals and Metal Products other than Iron and Steel

OCCUPATIONS	1890	1900	Increase or Dec.	Rate		1910	Increase or Dec.	Rate		1920	Increase or Dec.	Rate	
				Inc.	Dec.			Inc.	Dec.			Inc.	Dec.
Total	1,442	1,562	120	8.3	......	6,404	4,842	309.9	.....	6,058	−346	......	5.4
Brass Workers	89	110	21	23.5	......	303	193	175.4	.....	(*a*)1,319	1,016	335.3	......
Clock, Clock makers and Repairers	61	109	48	78.6	......	121	12	11.0	.....	(*b*) 474	353	291.7	......
Gold and Silver Workers	66	66	......	.....	......	127	61	92.4	.....	(*c*) 281	154	121.2	......
Tinplate and Tinware Workers	764	924	160	20.9	......	1,502	578	62.5	.....	(*d*)2,413	911	60.6	......
Other Metal Workers	462	353	−109	.....	23.5	4,351	3,998	1132.5	.....	(*e*)1,571	−2,780	......	63.8

(*a*) Includes 254 semi-skilled workers.

(*b*) Includes 108 semi-skilled employees and 55 laborers. Apprentices are not herein included because apprentices of gold and silversmiths are given together with those of watchmakers and repairers.

(*c*) Includes 37 laborers and 31 semi-skilled operatives.

(*d*) Includes 904 tinsmiths and other sheet metal workers. Others are laborers and semi-skilled workers.

(*e*) Includes 66 coppersmiths, 51 annealers and temperers of metal; 48 semi-skilled laborers in copper factories, and 377 unskilled laborers in copper factories; also 124 semi-skilled workers in non-specified metal factories and 905 unskilled laborers in iron specified metal factories.

In more than one of these cases, too, proper classification was extremely difficult. Sometimes a person worked at more than one job. Then again he might be a laborer on odd jobs, and in giving his own classification he might just as quickly designate the occupation he liked best as he would the one at which he worked most. In recent years the Bureau of the Census has given specific instructions to the effect that persons living in unincorporated places and presenting no evidence that they were working in mines, construction gangs, lumber camps, or at other non-agricultural work, were to be considered farm laborers and at the same time general rather than specified laborers. Through the operation of this rule many errors were doubtless corrected, but this often worked the other way in the case of the Negroes interviewed by enumerators who took little time in getting the Negroes' statements of the facts or who to save time never talked with the Negroes at all but depended upon what they could learn about them from the whites in their communities. For this reason many a Negro, who once worked in the metal, food, or some other industry, but was later displaced by the readjustment of labor resulting from mechanization, may not be returned as a potential worker in the higher spheres in which he has once shown capacity. Until all these things are taken into consideration and the Negroes are given additional investigation in view of their exceptional position resulting from racial distinctions in the economic life of the nation one can never know what the industrial potentiality of the race is.

Table 50. Comparative Distribution of Negroes in the Various Occupations from 1890 to 1920—*Continued*

Professional Service (a)

Occupations	1890	1900	Increase or Dec.	Rate		1910	Increase or Dec.	Rate		1920	Increase or Dec.	Rate	
				Inc.	Dec.			Inc.	Dec.			Inc.	Dec.
Total	33,994	47,219	13,225	38.8	......	66,246	19,027	40.2	.....	80,183	13,937	21.0	......
Actors, Prof. Showmen, etc	1,490	2,020	530	35.5	......	3,088	1,068	52.8	.....	1,973	−1,115	......	−36.0
Architects Designers Draftsmen, etc	44	52	8	181.	......	154	102	196.1	.....	195	41	26.6	......
Artists and Teachers of Art	150	236	86	57.3	......	329	93	39.4	.....	*259	−70	......	−21.2
Clergymen	12,159	15,228	3,069	25.2	......	17,996	2,768	18.1	.....	19,571	1,575	8.7	......
Dentists	120	212	92	76.7	......	478	266	125.4	.....	1,109	631	132.0	......
Electricians Engineers Civil, etc. and Surveyors	279	305	26	9.3	......	970	665	218.0	.....	1,526	556	57.2	......
Journalists	134	210	76	56.7	......	220	10	4.7	.....	251	31	14.0	......
Lawyers	431	728	297	68.9	......	915	187	25.6	.....	950	35	3.8	......
Literary and Scientific Persons	91	99	8	8.7	......	315	216	218.1	.....	(b) 271	44	......	13.9
Musicians and Teachers of Music	1,881	3,915	2,034	108.1	......	5,606	1,691	43.1	.....	5,902	296	5.2	......
Officials (Gov.)	1,115	645	−470	.....	42.1	1,071	426	66.0	.....	(c) 612	−459	......	42.8
Physicians and Surgeons	909	1,734	825	90.7	......	3,409	1,675	96.5	.....	3,885	476	13.9	......
Osteopaths	....	....	....	.....	......	....	....	.....	.....	....	....	......	......
Teachers and Professors	15,100	21,267	6,167	40.8	......	29,772	8,505	39.9	.....	36,626	6,854	23.0	......
College Presidents and Professors	....	....	....	.....	......	....	....	.....	.....	....	....	......	......
Other Professional Service	....	....	....	.....	......	1,923	....	.....	.....	....	....	......	......
Librarians	....	....	....	.....	......	15	....	.....	.....	22	7	46.6	......
Aeronauts	....	....	....	.....	......	....	....	.....	.....	1	....	......	......
Trained Nurses	....	....	....	.....	......	....	....	.....	.....	3,331	....	......	......
Veterinary Surgeons	....	....	....	.....	......	....	....	.....	.....	145	....	......	......
Photographers	....	....	....	.....	......	....	....	.....	.....	608	....	......	......
Religious and Charity Workers	....	....	....	.....	......	....	....	.....	.....	1,231	....	......	......

(a) Decrease indicated by minus (—) sign.

(b) A poll of Negroes engaged in literary pursuits in 1928 shows that the number has decidedly increased since 1910 instead of decreasing. The apparent decrease has been due evidently to change in point of view of the Director of the Census and the new classification adopted. This, moreover, does not include such important persons as notary publics, social welfare workers, or theatrical managers. It is highly probable that these have been included in some censuses and omitted in the case of others.

(c) From 1913 to 1921 Democrats were in power, and hence the number of Negro Federal employees relatively declined. It is probable that great disparity between figures for government officials for 1890 and 1900 is due to the fact that policemen and firemen were added to the former year and omitted in 1900 and 1920 by some enumerators and placed in another category by others.

* Majority (—164) females.

Miscellaneous Pursuits

OCCUPATIONS	1890	1900	Increase or Dec.	Rate Inc.	Rate Dec.	1910	Increase or Dec.	Rate Inc.	Rate Dec.	1920	Increase or Dec.	Rate Inc.	Rate Dec.
Total	....	....	......	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Broom and Brush Makers	174	213	39	22.4	.....	738	525	246.4	....	(a) 891	153	20.7	....
Charcoal, Coke and Lime Burners	1,595	3,870	2,275	142.6	.....	5,250	1,380	35.4	....	(b)2,483	—2,767	.....	52.7
Engineers and Firemen (not locomotive)	6,326	10,224	3,898	61.6	.....	20,169	9,945	97.2	....	29,506	9,337	46.2	....
Glove Makers	10	15	5	50.0	.....	30	15	100.0	....	(c) 99	69	230.0	....
Manufacturers and Officials, etc	1,077	1,186	109	10.1	.....	5,418	4,232	356.8	....	(d) 354	—5,064	.....	93.4
Model and Pattern Makers	18	24	6	33.3	.....	53	29	120.8	....	48	—5	.....	9.4
Photographers	190	247	57	30.0	.....	404	157	63.5	....	608	204	50.4	....
Rubber Factory Operatives	42	44	2	4.7	.....	178	134	304.5	....	2,685	2,507	1408.4	....
Tobacco and Cigar Factory Operatives	15,004	15,349	345	2.2	.....	24,014	8,665	56.4	....	41,283	17,269	71.9	....
Upholsterers	724	1,045	321	44.3	.....	1,127	82	7.8	....	648	479	.....	42.5
Other Miscellaneous Industries	13,496	21,939	8,443	62.5	.....	49,124	27,185	123.9	....	110,525	61,401	145.3	....

(a) Includes 647 semi-skilled operatives.
(b) Change in number employed probably due to change of place for making coke from mine to factory where coke is consumed.
(c) Does not include 21 laborers in glove factories.
(d) Difference due perhaps to change in enumeration schedule. Highly probable that numbers reported by previous census included those engaged in such occupations.

Textiles

OCCUPATIONS	1890	1900	Increase or Dec.	Rate Inc.	Rate Dec.	1910	*Increase or Dec.	Rate Inc.	Rate Dec.	1920	Increase or Dec.	Rate Inc.	Rate Dec.
Total	26,927	29,078	2,151	7.9	.....	59,117	30,039	103.3	....	74,320	15,203	25.7	.....
Bleachery and Dye Works Operatives	225	446	221	98.2	.....	556	110	24.6	....	836	280	50.3	.....
Carpet Factory Operators	83	43	—40	.....	48.1	246	203	472.09	....	270	24	9 7	.....
Cotton Mill Operatives	1,077	1,425	348	32.3	.....	6,178	4,753	333.5	....	(a)16,465	10,287	166.5	.....
Hosiery and Knitting Mill Operatives	64	36	—28	.....	43.7	718	682	1894.4	....	1,981	1,263	167.5	.....
Silk Mill Operatives	24	136	112	466.6	.....	513	377	277.2	....	615	102	19.8	.....
Woolen Mill Operatives	346	169	—177	.....	51.1	262	93	55.02	....	661	399	152.2	.....
Other Textile Mill Operatives	3,819	489	—3,330	.....	87.1	1,734	1,245	254.0	....	8,627	6,893	397.4	.....
Dressmakers and Seamstresses	19,432	24,106	4,674	24.00	.....	38,907	14,801	61.3	....	(b)35,418	—3,489	.....	8.9
Milliners	386	180	—206	.....	53.3	1,015	835	452.7	....	607	— 408	.....	40.1
Tailors and Tailoresses	1,330	1,845	515	38.7	.....	7,901	6,056	328.2	....	6,892	—1,009	.....	12.8
Hat and Cap Makers	56	22	—34	.....	60.7	107	85	386.3	....	207	100	93.4	.....
Shirt Collar and Cuff Makers	85	181	96	112.9	.....	980	799	441.4	....	(c)1,741	761	77.6	.....

(a) Includes 3,649 semi-skilled operatives.
(c) Includes makers, operatives, and the workers in this capacity.
(b) Includes 7,287 garment, cloak, and suit makers and 47 corset makers in factories, and 920 laborers in this capacity.

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